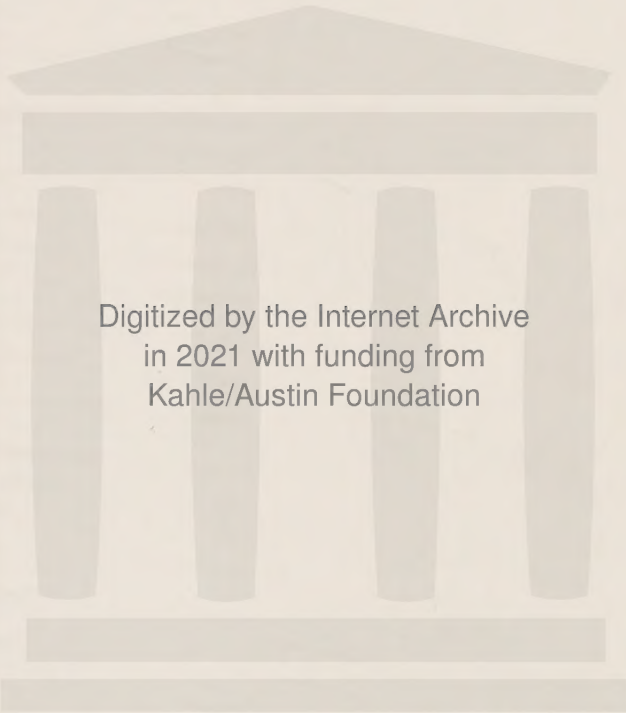


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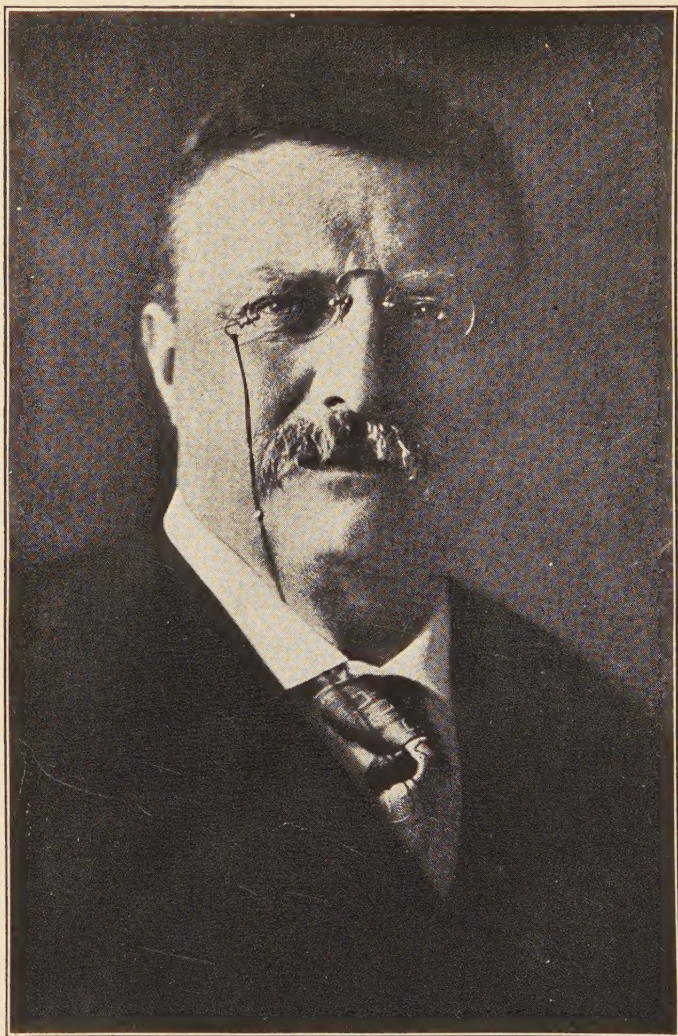


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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE IDEALS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

BY
EDWARD H. COTTON

FOREWORD BY
CORINNE ROOSEVELT ROBINSON



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TO
MY FATHER
WHO WAS ALSO A LEADER
WHOM THE PEOPLE
DELIGHTED TO HONOR

213430 Jul 17 '45 MM

AT

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

To publishers, authors and friends who have made this book possible, I wish to express deep appreciation: To Mrs. Douglas Robinson and Charles Scribner's Sons for permission to use extracts from *My Brother, Theodore Roosevelt*; to Herman Hagerdorn, John J. Leary, Jr., and John Burroughs (deceased), selections from whose books are used by permission of, and by special arrangement with, Houghton Mifflin Company, the authorized publishers; to the Pacific School of Religion for use of the book of which they hold the copyright, *Realizable Ideals*; to George H. Doran Company, Publishers, for free use of *Fear God and Take Your Own Part* by Theodore Roosevelt, copyright, 1916; to *The Ladies' Home Journal* for use of the valuable article by Theodore Roosevelt, "Shall We Do Away with the Church?" to the *Forum* for extracts that appeared in that magazine July and April, 1894, and July, 1904; to George H. Putnam's Sons, Publishers, New York and London, for courtesy in allowing the use of extracts from *The Winning of the West*, by Theodore Roosevelt; to the New York *Evening Post* for use of letters by Henry Cabot Lodge and Gifford Pinchot; to the

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EDWARD H. COTTON

MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

FOREWORD

It is with great satisfaction that I write this short foreward to Edward H. Cotton's admirable book on "*The Ideals of Theodore Roosevelt*."

My brother's knowledge of the Bible was as extraordinarily thorough as was his information on the history of his beloved country, that country to which he gave his time, his thought, and in the highest sense, himself.

His love of country was a religion, and his religion was based upon the love of his fellowman; and not only was his religion the true love for his fellowman, but it was translated every day of his life into service *to* his fellowman.

Many a time have we discussed the realizable creed that could be practiced by man in this world, which so often seems so difficult to understand. My brother frequently said that all religion was condensed into that wonderful verse, the eighth verse of the sixth chapter of the prophet Micah: "And what doth the Lord require of thee; but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

In connection with this verse he said, "Note

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that we are first asked to do *justly*, and *secondly, to love mercy*. We have no right to be merciful without administering justice first. No parents should simply be gentle and merciful to their children. Justice must be meted out first, if the children are at fault; mercy must come afterwards."

"I always felt," he continued, "that my father's great influence over me as a boy was because he was absolutely just and I was willing to abide by his decision, even when that decision made me unhappy or meant punishment for me."

In speaking of going to church, a practice which he kept up to the time of his death he would acknowledge often that he did not get much intellectual stimulus from the majority of sermons, but he would add: "If any one honestly believes that our country would be a better place if there were no churches in it, then and then only would he have the right to abstain from connecting himself with some church. It is a historical fact that a community becomes of less worth if the church ceases to be a force in it, and until I can believe that the people of our country are better off without churches, I shall always try to uphold them in a practical manner."

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Just as the verse in Micah was the favorite verse of my brother, so was the eleventh verse of the twelfth chapter of Romans, "Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord," the favorite verse of my father, the first Theodore Roosevelt.

Theodore Roosevelt's ingrained dedication to service was an inherited quality in this son of a father who, from his earliest youth, had, himself, been a servant of his City and his State and his Country.

True enthusiasts were these two men in their lives of applied Christianity, and their enthusiasm was what is meant by the accurate translation of that word *enthusiasm*, namely, "God in us."

Sects and sectarianism meant comparatively little to either of them. My father went to the Dutch Reformed Church, or the Presbyterian church, feeling that he belonged to both, and my memory carries me back to many Sunday afternoons when we went together to the Episcopal Church. My brother, although preferring to connect himself with the church of his forefathers, the Dutch Reformed Church, attended with pleasure the Episcopal Church at Oyster Bay.

Form and meticulous differences in methods

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of worship were of very little importance to him, but the words of the Bible, the splendid ringing exhortations of the great prophets, and the tender teachings and gracious hopefulness, mingled though they were with sorrow and disappointment, of the Man of Nazareth, influenced him deeply.

Theodore Roosevelt once said that when a question, public or private, had to be decided he tried, with his whole heart and mind, to think what was the *right* way to decide it, and then he decided the question in that way.

I am tempted to relate an incident which might seem, except in connection with this book, somewhat irreverent. I write in a spirit of absolute reverence.

A friend who wrote me shortly after my brother's death, told me of a letter she had received, about six months before, from her nephew, a Major in France. In that letter the young officer said: "I am interested in talking with my men and in trying to find out what their religious convictions are. The other night I asked one of the privates if he belonged to any church. He answered that he did not, but that he believed that the teachings of Jesus Christ ought to be followed and that he always felt that Theodore

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Roosevelt was the Jesus Christ of our day."

Surely the man whose character and mode of life could by this simple soldier, have thus been compared with the One "who went about doing good," had the right to be the influence he was in the lives of the "fellow Americans" he loved so well.

When I was in Japan in 1910, at a luncheon given to me by the Premier, one of the great statesmen present made an address on my brother, and one of the things he said, which has always remained in my memory, was that Theodore Roosevelt seemed to him to interpret the meaning of the Japanese Shinto religion. The word "Shinto" means "The Way" and "Theodore Roosevelt," said this Japanese Statesman, "was 'The Way' to be followed not only by the American people but by the nations of the world."

CORINNE ROOSEVELT ROBINSON

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ROOSEVELT TO THE YOUTH OF AMERICA

Much has been written, and more will be written, about Theodore Roosevelt, the nature student, the soldier, the hunter, the lawmaker, the American and the peerless leader; for he was one of the most versatile and conspicuous men of his time. The object of this book is not to describe him in these particulars, but to emphasize the real feature that made Theodore Roosevelt great—his ability to create ideals and then to realize them. He retained to the last the enthusiasms and vivid imaginations of youth. He was always young for integrity in the conduct of public affairs, for fearless opposition to every form of wrong, and for personal righteousness. There never lived an American whose life offered more inspiration to young men. In the courage and purpose of what he did, and even more in the vigorous idealism of what he said, is a truly magnificent incentive for every American youth. Because he, physically handicapped, and with no outstanding genius, climbed to the very peak of human en-

ROOSEVELT TO YOUTH

deavor, other young men, enthused by the thrilling record he made, may likewise become leaders. Theodore Roosevelt was first and last an idealist—as all young men and women are idealists. He spent his life in the pursuit of great and good ends. He marked an epoch in international relationships and political obligation. He also marked an epoch in applied idealism which after all was the most important thing he did. The greatness of the man will be better and better understood as years pass, and as his character is seen through the mellowing perspective of time. In passing on his message to the youth of America, we say without hesitation that his life was one of the best expressions we have had of idealism in action. As such, it includes inspiration for everyone who is living the life of arduous toil and high endeavor.

E. H. C.

The first essential toward the achievement of good citizenship is, of course, the building up the kind of character which will make the man a good husband, a good father, a good son; which will make the woman a good daughter when she is young, a good wife and mother as she grows older.

—THE HOME AND THE CHILD

THE IDEALS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

CHAPTER I

FOUNDATIONS AND EARLY INFLUENCE

Theodore Roosevelt had behind him on one side a long line of Dutch Protestants with the tradition of the terrific struggle with Spain for religious freedom, and on the other an ancestry that included the French Huguenots who also paid a heavy price for liberty of conscience. It is not strange that the two traditions combined in him to produce an acute conscience and conviction of duty that was forever pricking him on to the battle for righteousness.

The Roosevelts for seven generations before the great Theodore, had lived on Manhattan Island and conducted themselves as industrious, God-fearing citizens. His father

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and grandfather were members of the Middle Collegiate Church (Dutch Reformed), Second Avenue, near 7th Street, New York City. On December 2, 1874, when sixteen years of age, Theodore united with the same church. Theodore's father, Theodore, Sr., was one of the strong moral supports of the community. He contributed time, energy, and money to the church, Sunday school, and philanthropic causes. He was head of the State Board of Charities, and an organizer of the city's charities. He founded a hospital and dispensary for the treatment of hopeless cases of spine and hip disease, and pleaded all his life for better treatment of the insane. He urged the establishment of a farm for vagrant city boys, and for elimination of the tenement evil. At his death, one of his fellow citizens recorded of him, "He grew on us continually until we wondered for what great purpose he had been put among us." The people passed this resolution: "His death involved a loss of moral power and executive ability which no community can well spare."

EARLY INFLUENCE

A father of such strength of purpose, devotion to the public welfare, and lofty spirit would impart to his children similiar characteristics. Theodore, Jr., repeatedly declared that the character of his father had left an indelible imprint. He ever looked back on him as the ideal man, a man of moral resolve and abounding physical energy—resolute and courageous, but withal, having the finer feelings that go with sentiment and affection. When a child, he had severe attacks of asthma. On those occasions his father took him in his arms and walked to and fro with him until the attack had spent itself. But the father would not overindulge the boy. Above all he impressed on him the necessity of mixing with other boys, holding his own, and doing his full share of the day's work.

He respected his father, and in a measure feared him, that is, feared to have him discover that he ever practiced deception or cowardice. This wholesome fear in time became instilled into his character and played an important part in developing the Roosevelt Idealism.

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Mrs. Robinson relates, in that most intimate of all the biographies, an instance which of itself would be conclusive proof of the tremendous influence left on the son by the father. The first night Theodore Roosevelt spent as President in the White House, he invited his two sisters and their husbands to dine with him. As the group gathered about the table, the President said with feeling: "Do you realize that this is the birthday of our father, September 22? I have realized it as I have signed papers all day long, and I feel that it is a good omen that I begin my duties in this house on this day. *I feel as if my father's hand were on my shoulder, and as if there were a special blessing over the life I am to lead here.*"

His father had taught a Sunday-school class; therefore the boy taught one. The father had interested himself extensively in social reform; therefore the boy made a similar venture. The father had lived a life of rectitude and honor; therefore the boy determined to shape his career after the same model.

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Paradoxical as it may seem, no person more fearlessly and successfully blazed his own trail, yet no person was a better imitator than Theodore Roosevelt. As long as he lived, he was constantly asking himself if his father would have adopted a similar course. He once declared, "I tried faithfully to do what father would have done."

His sister, Mrs. Robinson, writes in her book, "My brother's great love for his human kind was a direct inheritance from the man who was one of the founders in his city of nearly every patriotic, humanitarian and educational endeavor."

As indication of his appreciation, the son frequently referred to the influence of the father with expressive eulogy. To his way of thinking, he was a thoroughly good man, the best type of citizen he ever came in contact with. He was strong and gentle, courageous and unselfish. He was firm with his children in matters of moral conduct, never tolerating for a moment idleness, neglect, or the suspicion of an untruth. He understood his children, and,

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when it became necessary to discipline them, did so with an intelligent understanding of their natures. Theodore, Jr., thought of his father as a man who derived joy from living, as few men do, as a citizen who put earnest enthusiasm into the performance of duty, and as a leader of social reforms and charitable enterprises. In appearance, Theodore, Sr., was powerful, with a face like a lion, but with a soul filled with kindness for all those who were oppressed. He was loved by the honest and feared by the rascals, as his son was after him.

His mother, too, was a person of unusual force of character. Her name had been Martha Bulloch and she came from a Southern family, well known for its traditions of gracious hospitality and devotion to principle, whether that principle was high moral conduct or states rights. The father being a strong Lincoln Republican, and the mother sympathetic with Southern views, the clash of the Civil War found a mild echo in the Roosevelt household. Theodore tells once of praying one

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evening with fervor for the success of the Union arms after having been wronged by maternal discipline, as he felt, during the day.

Thus the mother handed her remarkable qualities of mind and soul on to her son. She is said by those who knew her well to have been one of the most beautiful women in New York, charming and gracious, with a reputation for wit, sensitive to the best in art and literature, and looking first to the welfare of her own household. The young Theodore was as fortunate as any son could be in his parents. To them he owed his amazing spiritual perceptions. He well knew, and freely acknowledged that it was a heritage of rare and peculiar quality.

Theodore, the father, was a very religious man and held family worship. "We used to stand at the foot of the stairs," said Theodore, Jr., "and when father came down we called out, 'I speak for you and the cubby-hole too!' There were three of us young children, and we used to sit with father on the sofa while he conducted morning prayers. The place be-

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tween father and the arm of the sofa we called the 'cubby-hole.' The child who got that place we regarded as especially favoured both in comfort and somehow in rank and title."

The parents taught their children the meaning of the two Christian festivals, Thanksgiving and Christmas. Mr. Roosevelt liked to recall those childhood days when his sisters, his brother, and himself hung up their stockings; and then, on Christmas morning, opened them in the presence of the smiling father and mother. It was a delightful family scene, and one that he regularly reproduced in his own home. For more than thirty years, he gave a Christmas present to each child who attended the Cove school at Oyster Bay. After the exercises, which had included an address by himself, he acted as Santa Claus, took the presents from the tree, and placed them in the children's hands with appropriate comments.

Membership in the Reformed Church included a pretty definite knowledge of the Heidelberg Catechism, an exacting and superior method of discipline. The fact that

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Roosevelt was familiar with this catechism and had been influenced by it in his youth explains in a measure his high moral and religious sensibilities. To this catechism he owed much of his knowledge of the Bible and the stern moral code that actuated him throughout his life.

His first impression of a church was unusual, to say the least, concluding from the following incident. Theodore used to play in Madison Square, which was not far from his home. A Presbyterian church stood on the east side of the square. The sexton of the church noticed, one Saturday morning, a boy looking curiously in at the door. "Come in," he invited.

"No, thank you," replied little Theodore. Then, with a wise look, "I know what you've got in there."

The boy told his mother that afternoon that the sexton had invited him into the church, but that he had been unwilling to accept. In answer to his mother's question, he explained that he had been afraid lest the *zeal* should jump at him from some dark corner.

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"The *zeal*!" exclaimed his mother. "What do you mean?"

"Why," the boy replied, "it is some big animal, a dragon, or maybe an alligator. Last Sunday, while Uncle R. and I were there listening to the minister, I heard him read from the Bible about the *zeal*. It made me afraid."

Mrs. Roosevelt got the concordance and read down the texts with the word "zeal" in them.

Suddenly the child's eyes bulged and he exclaimed in an excited voice, "That's it—the last you read!"

This was the text: "For the zeal of thy house hath eaten me up."

Following his father's example he taught a mission class for three years before entering college. On entering Harvard, in 1876, he continued the practice, and sought out a Sunday school. Cambridge had no Dutch Reformed church, but he chanced on Christ Church, Episcopal, and asked for work. He

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was given a class of lively boys. He kept this class three years and a half, being absent but twice, and then arranging for a substitute. At the outset of his career, he displayed that truly remarkable moral purpose that all his life so profoundly characterized him. He took this class, alone among his student comrades, taught it with diligent application Sunday after Sunday though frequently invited away over the week-end for parties that must have made a strong appeal. If on occasion he did go out of town, he invariably returned in time for the Sunday school.

While endeavoring to play the part of the conscientious teacher, on a certain day, one of the members of the class appeared with a badly bruised face, the result of a recent fight with another boy. It seems that the boy had been playing marbles with a companion when a third and larger came along and stole some of the marbles. Boy number one protesting, a vigorous fight ensued. The teacher considered a moment. Then he said: "There are occasions when it is wrong to fight, however, in this

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instance you did quite right." And he presented him with a quarter.

Writing about his class one time to his sister, Mrs. Douglas Robinson, he said: "I came home to-day in time for my Sunday school class; I am beginning to get very much interested in my pupils, especially in one who is a very orderly and bright little fellow—two qualities which I have not usually found combined."

The cause of his leaving this Sunday school has never been clearly explained. A letter to his mother, however, not heretofore published, clears the situation. The letter was written January 11, 1880, and reads:

"A good deal to my amusement and rather to my disgust I have been requested to resign my Sunday school class unless I joined the Episcopal Church. This I refused to do, and so I had to leave. I told the clergyman I thought him rather narrow-minded, especially as I had had my class for three years and a half, and as even he said it was the only class

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in the school where the attendance was at all regular."

For the remaining six months of his college course, he taught in a Congregational Sunday school. How like the Roosevelt we know to refuse to be controlled by a partisan issue, in this instance sectarian, but in later cases, savoring of party politics, color, or race.

Roosevelt was one of the most prolific writers of his time, having no less than thirty published volumes of his writings to his credit. Seldom has a writer been better able to compel attention, and to say with illuminating accuracy what he had to say, though the art of composition was acquired by him through conscientious application and unremitting toil. He has noted in numerous places, in this forceful style of his, the influences that surrounded him in his youth, and their effect upon him. He came of aristocratic lineage, but his father was a thoroughgoing democrat, and made an equally ardent democrat of his son. The conviction early entered the boy's soul that he

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was going to be respected, not for what he came from, but for what he made of himself. He applied himself with diligence to his textbooks and to athletics, and, while he was good in both departments, he was neither a conspicuous scholar nor athlete. He left college for the world of affairs, grateful for the training he had received there. He felt, however, that he owed more to the instruction he had received in his home, though he perceived clearly that neither place had thoroughly fitted him to take the high position he intended to take among his fellow Americans. He had still to learn those lessons that come only from rough contact with the hard school of experience.

The man who as a youth voluntarily united with the church of his fathers, and was eager to teach Sunday-school classes, who said, "I speak as one proud of his Holland, Huguenot, and Covenanting ancestors, and proud that the blood of that stark Puritan divine, Jonathan Edwards, flowed in the veins of his children", who was carefully trained to reverence the Bible, and to engage in morning and evening

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devotions, who made it the rule of his life to try faithfully to do as his father—a man of profound religious conviction—had done, expressed a religious nature of singular depth and fervor.

Those admirers who are looking for the secret of the Roosevelt influence must first go back to that godly home at 28 East 20th Street, New York City, where in those important formative years young Theodore had the inspiring examples of a high-minded, believing father and a mother of chivalrous courage and ideals of right living, of saintly clergymen and a circle of friends who believed that the integrity of the state depended on the integrity of the church. It would be difficult to overestimate the part those early surroundings played in shaping Roosevelt's character, fixing in his mind an unswerving purpose to wage uncompromising war with evil. In after years he referred with feeling to the value of the training he had received in that home. Had that training been less moral and religious, had there been more of the gay quest that charac-

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terized many New York homes of the period, and less severe discipline of the spirit, the world, no doubt would still have had a brilliant Roosevelt, but it would have lost a Valiant for Truth, which, after all, is the title by which Theodore Roosevelt will live longest in the hearts of his countrymen.

We Americans have many grave problems to solve, many threatening evils to fight, and many deeds to do, if, as we hope and believe, we have the wisdom, the strength, the courage, and the virtue to do them.

—TRUE AMERICANISM

CHAPTER II

AN IDEALIST IN POLITICS

Theodore, Sr., had left his son a comfortable competence, but he had left him also the knowledge that this is a work-a-day world to which every man should give the best he has. This was the better heritage of the two. Theodore, Jr., from early youth had been a nature lover. At the age of fourteen he went with his family to Egypt, and while there collected, classified, and stuffed many specimens. He became more and more interested in natural history, and on entering college decided to be a naturalist of the Audubon or John Burroughs type. He entertained at that period no intention of following a political career. As the time of graduation approached, he changed his idea of a life work somewhat, concluding to study law, with natural history as an avoca-

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tion. But when he looked about him and saw great corporation lawyers engaging in questionable practices, granting justice to one and denying it to another, he made up his mind, actuated by that strict sense of justice which was a Roosevelt tradition, to look elsewhere for a profession.

He joined the Republican party, and in the fall of 1881 was elected a member of the New York legislature, and reëlected the two succeeding years. He said frankly that he would not have entered politics had he not inherited an independent competence from his father, for, as he explained, a man who depended on political office for a living would be obliged to compromise too often with his conscience, and would find the quality of service he could render the people much impaired.

In the early eighties, New York politics was in the hands of owners of saloons, shyster lawyers, grooms, and gang leaders. Men of standing and family pride kept themselves free from the unclean scramble for office. His friends tried to dissuade him. He believed

AN IDEALIST IN POLITICS

that it was the plain everyday duty of men of his station and training to enter the fight for public righteousness.

The politicians of those times were spoils-men. One leader stated, "I am in politics working for my own pocket all the time—same as you." The coming of this youthful idealist who was a church member, who taught Sunday-school classes, who regulated his life by the Ten Commandments, was sure to puzzle the hardened old leaders. But his name looked like a winning one, and they backed him. Once he was in office, once he learned the extent of the circle of graft, greed, and corruption that disgraced the state, he went to work with both fists.

It is a mistake to suppose that Roosevelt went into politics actuated solely by the idea that he was to sacrifice himself and benefit mankind. The thought would have been abhorrent to him. He was not a self-seeker; his motives were of the purest; but he would not pose as a "better than thou" sort of individual who had been called to a superior kind of work.

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He earnestly believed that every man was under obligations to contribute as much as he could to the public service, and to do it willingly and in democratic fashion. When engaged in works of righteousness, the person of wealth and position should toil in common fellowship with those less privileged. The tremendous need of social reform did not force itself to his attention all at once; years passed before he fully appreciated the hollow mockery of many so-called American institutions. But always before his mind was the necessity he and his associates were under of applying the elemental virtues—steadfast honesty and square dealing.

When he learned that a certain elevated railroad company had used a judge of the Supreme Court as an instrument to augment the proceeds of the business, and discovered, in correspondence that had passed between officials of the road and the judge, that the judge had written, "I am willing to go to the very verge of judicial discretion to serve your vast interests," he moved the judge's impeachment in

AN IDEALIST IN POLITICS

the Legislature. That was his first experience with the attitude of the law and of big business. He found to his astonishment that lawyers and business men of standing, men he knew well socially, were decidedly opposed to his action.

The unholy alliance between unrighteous business and politics, waxing strong with the years, had discovered at last a powerfully indignant opponent. As long as he lived, Roosevelt fought this combination on the ground that it was politically unsound and morally wrong.

The corrupt judge, aided by powerful influences, escaped impeachment, but the people of the State and the country saw that a champion had entered the lists in their behalf, with determined ideas of square dealing and righteousness, and with the courage and skill to advocate them and get them into the public mind. Now it is plain that a new hour struck in American politics when Theodore Roosevelt, at twenty-three, took his place in the New York Legislature. He went with a sense of absolute justice, inherited from a long line of

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upright men and women, and strengthened in his own person. No figure has appeared in the political life of America who insisted so openly, persistently, and fearlessly on square dealing. One class was not held against or above another. He opposed laboring men when he thought they were wrong as intensely as he opposed corrupt capitalists. As he said: "The only kind of courage and honesty which are permanently useful to good institutions anywhere are those shown by men who decide all cases with impartial justice on grounds of conduct and not on grounds of class."

An incident occurred during his term in the New York Legislature that well illustrated his sensitiveness to justice. The Cigar-makers' Union introduced a bill to prohibit the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses. Roosevelt was appointed one of a committee of three to inquire into the necessity of legislation. He was appointed because it was expected that he would oppose the bill. He was predisposed against it, but with customary open-mindedness and thoroughness he visited the tenements

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where the cigars were being made. He learned that in one, two, and three room apartments, where families slept and cooked and ate their food, the work went on day and night. In one instance, in a single room harboring two families consisting of several children, three men, and two women, the tobacco was stowed alongside the beds, in close proximity to the food, in fact wherever there was an inch of space. He became a strong supporter of the bill, and even acted as spokesman for the union before Grover Cleveland, who was then Governor. The bill was signed but subsequently it was declared invalid by the Court of Appeals. It seems that Jacobs, for whom the decision was named, was a manufacturer of cigars who did his work under exceptional conditions. In rendering its decision, the court issued the following nefarious statement: "It cannot be perceived how the cigar-maker is to be improved in his health or his morals by forcing him from his home and its hallowed associations and beneficent influences to ply his trade elsewhere."

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The case of Judge Westbrook whose impeachment he had demanded showed him the iniquity of the business-political combination. The unjust verdict of the court in the matter of cigar-making in tenements showed him that the legislation of the courts was far removed in sympathy from the needs of the people. The tenement-house case and others which later came to his attention convinced him that the courts existed chiefly for the privileged class, and that instead of promoting the welfare of the common people, court decisions tended to extend their misery. He never forgot the lesson. Man's inhumanity to man! An iron resolution to fight for social justice entered his life. Apollyon had unmasked himself; he had spoken as to the Pilgrim, "I am an enemy to this Prince you serve; I hate his person, his laws, and people; I am come out on purpose to withstand thee." And the Pilgrim replied, "Apollyon, beware what you do; for I am in the king's highway, the way of holiness; therefore take heed to yourself."

What did the country think of this youthful

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crusader? He was hailed far and wide as a fearless fighter of corruption in whatever guise it might rear its head. Editorials in the daily press welcomed his advent, and proclaimed him the young man with the flaming sword, come to replace the glaring evils of legislation with a government that would hew square to the line. Cartoons represented him shearing the claws of the Tammany Tiger, cutting a swath of righteousness through weeds of corruption and riding like the knights of old against the citadel of the powers of darkness. A youth of twenty-four, he was already the leader of the reconstruction long needed in American politics.

Already the doctrines by which he was to live were shaping themselves. To his way of thinking, it was not enough for a person to be simply honest and to desire to do right. To those qualities, excellent enough in themselves, efficiency must be added. In other words, honesty and desire to do right must be *applied*. People had come to think of politics as necessarily dishonest. As a result, honest men kept

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themselves clear of the contamination. Roosevelt said emphatically that the honest man who did not go into politics because they were dishonest was as bad as the corrupt politician. "Every man, who wishes well to his country," said he, "is in honor bound to take an active part in political life."

To his way of thinking, in the long run, men in the political world who practiced fraud and treachery failed to accomplish any noteworthy achievement. It was the high-thinking men, the conscientious workers who got things done. He introduced into the political arena that hitherto unheard of thing, high ideals. In an article which he contributed to the *Forum*, July, 1904, he explained his position:

"A man who goes into the actual battles of the political world must prepare himself much as he would for the struggle in any other branch of life. He must be prepared to meet men of far lower ideals than his own, and to face things, not as he would wish them, but as they are. He must not lose his own high ideal,

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and yet he must face the fact that the majority of the men with whom he must work have lower ideals. He must stand firmly for what he believes, and yet he must realize that political action to be effective, must be the joint action of many men, and that he must sacrifice somewhat of his own opinion to those of his associates if he ever hopes to see his desires take practical shape.

“It is not the man who sits by his fireside reading his evening paper, and saying how bad our politics and politicians are, who will ever do anything to save us. It is the man who goes out into the rough hurly-burly of the caucus, the primary, and the political meeting, and there faces his fellows on equal terms. The real service is rendered, not by the critic who stands aloof from the contest, but by the man who enters into it and bears his part as a man should, undeterred by the blood and sweat. It is a pleasant thing to associate merely with cultivated, refined men of high ideals and sincere purpose to do right. . . . The actual battle must be fought out on other

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and less pleasant fields. The actual advance must be made in the field of practical politics among the men who represent or guide or control the mass of voters, the men who are sometimes rough and coarse, who sometimes have lower ideals than they should; but who are capable, masterful, and efficient. It is only by mingling on equal terms with such men. . . . that it is possible for one to establish a standing that will be useful to him in fighting for a great reform."

He gave the nation the unusual spectacle of a young man entering politics for the purpose of elevating municipal, state, and national government. Rarely has a man pursued his first intention with such unswerving purpose. With him it was not a matter of avoiding political associates because they were disagreeable or unfair or ungenerous. He was not in the arena to make friends, but to win the battle for a righteous state. Finally, excellent as it was to labor for more comfortable systems of transportation, cleaner streets, and play-

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grounds for children, there should be a higher motive even than these.

“It is a good thing to appeal to citizens to work for good government because it betters their estate materially, but it a far better thing to appeal to them to work for good government because it is right in itself to do so . . . The man of business and the man of science, the doctor of divinity and the doctor of law, the architect, the engineer, and the writer, all alike owe a positive duty to the community, the neglect of which they cannot excuse on any plea of their private affairs. They are bound to follow understandingly the course of public events. They are bound to act intelligently and effectively in support of the principles which they deem to be right.”

With the completion of his third term in the New York legislature, his apprenticeship was finished. He had set up his pure white banner, and it was to wave aloft over many a hard-fought field. The fight in which he was

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to engage was the good fight of social reform. Armies of enemies would oppose him, but backed by friends of honest government he would win time and again, for his cause was right, and he was to fight with weapons that the enemies of law never have been and never will be able to withstand. He had uncovered an appalling amount of blackmail, dishonest privilege and perverted justice. Strong in the conviction that it was all wrong, he determined to withstand and force back the wave of corruption that threatened to engulf the nation.

The same passion that had inspired his ancestors, the brave burghers of the Netherlands and the Huguenots of France, to defend their righteous liberties to the last ditch, fired him. If Roosevelt had fallen in with the practice of his times, along with other young men of his education and attainments, he would have saved himself much trouble. He made up his mind to be an advocate of old-fashioned morality, and, in consequence, incurred the resentment of those that sat in high places. The attitude he adopted required courage of a high

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order, endurance, skill, and a burning conviction that opposition served merely to strengthen. He was familiar with history and knew what leaders who championed unpopular causes had endured. He knew of the battle between William of Orange and the bigot, Philip the Second, and what it cost William and his followers. Cromwell, who championed the liberties of the English, was a favorite of his, and later he wrote a book about him. Most of all, perhaps, was he influenced by those two great Americans, Washington and Lincoln. All those leaders had been men of deep religious faith. The power of the spirit had entered their souls, and the movements they led for the honor, peace and happiness of their people were largely determined by profound religious conviction.

Exactly the same influences persuaded young Roosevelt to unfurl his banner, assume the leadership of the people, and battle valiantly for their liberties. He was a progressive among progressives in the matter of civic reform; but he went back to the great men of the

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ages for his moral ideals, his ideas of justice in the courts, truth-telling in legislative halls, and protection of the undefended and oppressed. He brought into the political arena of city, state, and nation those time-honored weapons, the sword of the spirit and the shield of faith. They proved as invincible in his hands as they had in the hands of William of Orange, Cromwell, Washington and Lincoln.

I am making a plea, not only for the training of the mind, but for the moral and spiritual training of the home and the church, the moral and spiritual training that has always been found in, and has ever accompanied, the study of the book which in almost every civilized tongue, and in many an uncivilized, can be described as the Book with the certainty of having the description understood by all listeners.

—THE BIBLE AND THE
LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH AND THE BIBLE

Roosevelt's wide and varied experience with men taught him the importance of the church in shaping character and defining American ideals. From early youth he was a constant attendant at church, preferably the Dutch Reformed of which he was a member. As Vice President and President he went regularly to Grace Reformed Church. In Oyster Bay he attended with equal regularity the Episcopal church—the church of Mrs. Roosevelt.

When he was elected Vice President in November, 1900, Dr. John M. Schick, minister of Grace Reformed Church in Washington, invited him to make that his church home. This congregation was affiliated with the Reformed Church in the United States. There was no Dutch Reformed Church in Washington, the denomination of which Roosevelt was

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a member. The two branches of the Reformed Church, one brought over by the Dutch to the state of New York, the other by the Germans to Pennsylvania, were similar in doctrine and polity. The former church is now called officially the Reformed Church in America, the latter the Reformed Church in the United States. During the eight years Mr. Roosevelt spent in Washington as Vice President and President, he constantly attended Dr. Schick's services.

While Roosevelt was a member of his congregation, Dr. Schick said once to his friend, Dr. Albert C. Dieffenbach, that in case the President could not attend church he wrote a note to the minister or telephoned, expressing his regrets and giving reasons. He took part in the service with customary enthusiasm, reading the responses and singing the hymns with fervor. He listened with interest to the sermon, responded to special appeals with generous contributions, and participated in the Holy Communion and other special services. In memory of his association with the Grace

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Church congregation, he presented it with an excellent portrait of himself painted just before he went to Washington as Vice President.

Of course the Washington church flourished in the Roosevelt days. It is now a strong congregation. One monument to the President's faith is a new church, built during the latter part of the Roosevelt administration.

He wanted to see churches infused with a share of his own abounding enthusiasm and faith. He said once:

"The church must be a living, breathing, vital force or it is no real church. Every serious student of our social and industrial conditions has learned to look with discomfort and alarm upon the diminishing part which our church plays in the life of great cities. I need hardly say that no increase in the number of fashionable churches and of wealthy congregations in any shape or way atones for the diminution of churches in the very localities where there is most need for them. If ever the Christian

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Church ceases to be of the plain people, it will cease to be the Christian Church.”

While Mr. Roosevelt was President, and while he was having one of his hardest fights, the big stick swinging right and left on a group of unscrupulous men who were filling their pockets at the people's expense, he was walking home from church one Sunday morning with a friend. Something in the service must have stirred him, for he gave expression to a sentiment rare in his case. He gave the friend to understand that insight and a clear mind for the work he had to do, and determination to go forward in the performance of what he conceived his duty, came from regular attendance at public worship.

If friends were visiting him at Washington or at Oyster Bay, he took them along to the service. In the period just subsequent to the World War, though hardly out of the hospital, and afflicted with a painful limp, Mr. Roosevelt walked the three miles and back from Sagamore Hill to the church.

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Few men have had so many and unusual opportunities for observing the influences that shape character, hence his testimony to the necessity of the church to the national life will have weight. He once contributed an article to the *Ladies' Home Journal*, entitled, "Shall We Do Away with the Church?" From that article we are able to extract ten reasons why the church should be supported:

1. The community that is without a church for a period of years necessarily goes backward.

2. A rapid decline in church membership means an equal decline in the quality of citizenship.

3. Amusement brings more happiness when supplemented by a recognition and practice of obligation toward others.

4. One *may* dedicate one's self to good living in woods and by running brooks; as a matter of fact one does *not* thus dedicate oneself—therefore go to church.

5. The church attendant will hear a sermon by a good man who is engaged all the week in tasks devoted to the higher life.

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6. He will participate in Bible readings of inspiring character.

7. He will meet and talk with good people.

8. He will be induced to think less of himself and more of others.

9. Those who regularly attend some church prove their faith by their works.

10. The man who does not in some way, active or not, connect himself with some active working church misses many opportunities of helping his neighbors, and therefore, incidentally, himself.

He liked hymns. It is said by those who saw him at church that frequently he sang without the hymn book, for he knew scores of hymns by heart. His favorite hymn was:

How firm a foundation ye saints of the Lord,
Is laid for your faith in his excellent word!
What more can he say than to you he hath said,—
To you, who for refuge to Jesus have fled?

Naturally a person of the breadth of character of Mr. Roosevelt would be interested in the activities of the church abroad. His friend, Ferdinand C. Iglehart, D. D., once told

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him that his son had been appointed a missionary to Japan. This led him to declare that he considered the ministry one of the highest callings because it was so closely related to higher life and service here, and our immortal destiny. So interested was the President in the young missionary that he gave him a letter of introduction to Lloyd Griscom, United States minister to Japan, with the comment: "I do not consider that America has any relation to Japan which is higher or more far-reaching than the education, morals and religion that the missionary carries to that country."

In the course of his hunting adventures in Uganda, Africa, he took occasion, when he was in the neighborhood of Christian missions, to visit the missionary villages, meet the missionaries and investigate their work. He came to have a high respect for missionary effort, and believed that persons who criticized the Christian workers should first have visited the missions and seen for themselves. Christian leaders on the field were human and made errors, but the message of Christianity that they

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presented had lighted up many dark corners, and dispelled many barbarous customs. The African religions are immoral, vicious, and cruel. Christianity, elemental though it often is as taught by some of the missionaries, is immeasurably superior to the code of African priests and medicine men. Given a fairly intelligent native population, the missionaries have been able to exert a transforming influence. At all events, Christianity shows the African that conduct must come before incantations and ceremonies.

The value of Christian teaching for communities in other countries where there was absence of it seems often to have been in his mind. Thus, while traveling through the Brazilian wilderness, he found a small hamlet on the Paraguay River without priest or church. It seemed to him then that what that and similar villages needed most were churches and priests. It mattered little whether the church and he who ministered over it were Catholic or Protestant so long as the spirit to apply righteousness to that community were

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present. Introduce the program of the Young Men's Christian Association or even that of ethical culture—any method which is simple and can comprehend and meet the need.

As a boy, Roosevelt had learned by heart many Bible chapters; it was part of the discipline of the church of which he was a member. Also in his home the Bible was constantly read aloud, and certain of its sublime passages were given to the children for memorizing. He never forgot those early lessons. Mrs. Roosevelt says that he was able to repeat at will long portions of Scripture. She added that she would like the world to know the part his deep knowledge of the Bible played in his life. Frequently, like Lincoln, the statesman he most admired, he used quotations from the Bible in his speeches with telling effect.

Following are some of the uses he made of Bible texts and figures. The quotations are made from various essays and addresses.

“Doubtless on the average the most useful citizen to the community as a whole is the man

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to whom has been granted what the Psalmist asked for—neither poverty nor riches.”

“The millennium is not here; it is some thousands of years off, yet. Meanwhile there must be a good deal of work and struggle, a good deal of injustice. We shall often see the tower of Siloam fall on the just as well as the unjust.”

“The woman who has borne, and who has reared as they should be reared, a family of children, has in the most emphatic manner deserved well of the Republic. Her burden has been heavy, and she has been able to bear it worthily only by the possession of resolution, of good sense, of conscience, and of unselfishness. But if she has borne it well, then to her shall come the supreme blessing, for in the words of the oldest and greatest of books, ‘Her children shall rise up and call her blessed.’ ”

“Thanks to the weakness we (the United States) have shown for five years, and to the fact that for a year and a half we have shown

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the "neutrality" of the Levite who passed by on the other side when he saw on the ground the man who had been wounded by robbers near Jericho (and at least the Levite did not boast of his 'neutrality'), the United States has not a friend in the world."

"So long as they work for evil, smite them with the sword of the Lord and of Gideon! When they change and show their faith by their works, remember the words of Ezekiel: 'If the wicked will turn from all the sins he has committed, and keep all my statutes, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die. All his transgressions that he hath committed, they shall not be mentioned unto him: in his righteousness that he hath done he shall live. Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die? saith the Lord God; and not that he should return from his ways and live?' "

At the entrance of the United States into the Great War, the American Bible Society

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provided New Testaments for the troops. At the request of the society, Mr. Roosevelt wrote a message which was included in the Testaments:

“The teachings of the New Testament are foreshadowed in Micah’s verse:

“What more doth the Lord require of thee than to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.”

“Do justice; and therefore fight valiantly against the armies of Germany and Turkey, for these nations in this crisis stand for the reign of Moloch and Beelzebub on this earth.”

“Love mercy: treat prisoners well; succor the wounded; treat every woman as if she were your sister; care for the little children, and be tender with the old and helpless.”

“Walk humbly; you will do so if you will study the life and teachings of the Saviour.”

“May the God of Justice and mercy have you in His keeping.”

He studied the Hebrew prophets. In the spring of 1918, when opposition to his policies

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was multiplying, he wrote a letter to the *Philadelphia North American* in which he said:

“As you know, *my* whole concern is practically the same concern that Amos and Micah and Isaiah had for Jerusalem nearly three thousand years ago!”

Making the comment that her brother was likely to apply a Bible text to a situation, Mrs. Douglas Robinson speaks of a letter which he wrote to her November 12, 1914, following election day. “Did you see my quotation from II Timothy, Chapter 4, verses 3 and 4?” asks the letter. “It covers the whole situation.” These are the verses:

“For the time shall come when they shall not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves to teachers, having itching ears.

“And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables.”

Mr. Roosevelt knew books. His reading

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ranged from the classics such as Thucydides, Plutarch, and Aristotle, through ancient, medieval, and modern history. It included all the best poets, historians, philosophers, and romance writers. He read children's books and Shakespeare; magazines of all kinds; sermons, and accounts of adventure in various parts of the world; plays, essays, and translations. The number of books he reviewed and wrote introductions for was positively prodigious. He had the faculty, also, not often possessed by omnivorous readers, of assimilating all that he read, and storing it away for subsequent use. No critic of literature of his time was better qualified to pass on books of merit. He said there were four preëminent books—The Bible, Shakespeare, Homer, and Dante. He placed the Bible first. The library presented to him by his sister, Mrs. Douglas Robinson, which he took on his African hunting adventure, known now as the famous "pigskin library," and listed by himself, included the Bible as the first book.

As he grew older and the forces of opposi-

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tion multiplied, it seemed he relied more and more on the grand injunctions of Holy Writ. Thus, in his fight with the Progressives, he adopted as the war cry for that movement, "We stand at Armageddon and we battle for the Lord." Only a student of the Bible could have known that Armageddon, or the Valley of Megiddo, was the great battlefield of the Old Testament where Joshua, Barak, Gideon, and Saul engaged in decisive conflicts with the enemies of Jehovah.

In the spring of 1911, Mr. Roosevelt, as Earl Lecturer, delivered a course of lectures at the Pacific Theological Seminary which should illustrate Christian thought and conduct. One of the lectures was called "The Bible and the Life of the People." The discourse displayed astonishing knowledge of the history of the Bible in its various versions, and revealed a singularly clear discernment on the part of the speaker of its unique and indispensable place in the social order. In his estimation, all ethics and all knowledge of applied good works were included in the scriptures. We wish space al-

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lowed an insertion of this truly remarkable discussion word for word as it was given. We can only select some of the salient paragraphs:

“Our success in striving to help our fellow men depends largely upon our success as we strive, with whatever shortcomings, with whatever failures, to lead our lives in accordance with the great ethical principles laid down in the life of Christ, and in the New Testament writings which seek to expound and apply his teachings. No other book of any kind ever written in English—perhaps no other book ever written in any other tongue—has ever so affected the whole life of a people as this authorized version of the Scriptures (King James) has affected the life of the English-speaking peoples. I enter a most earnest plea that in our hurried and rather bustling life of to-day we do not lose the hold that our forefathers had on the Bible. I wish to see Bible study as much a matter of course in the secular college as in the seminary. No educated man can af-

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ford to be ignorant of the Bible; and no uneducated man can afford to be ignorant of the Bible."

He then asked that the Bible be studied with care, giving reasons:

"Moreover I appeal for a study of the Bible on many different accounts, even aside from its ethical and moral teachings, even aside from the fact that all serious people, all men who think deeply even among non-Christians, have come to agree that the life of Christ, as set forth in the four Gospels, represents an infinitely higher and purer morality than is preached in any other book of the world. Aside from this I ask that the Bible be studied for the sake of the breadth it must give to every man who studies it. I cannot understand the mental attitude of those who would put the Bible to one side as not being a book of interest to grown men."

By way of illustrating the fact that the Scriptures have been used for moral and spiritual

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training in every civilized, and in many an uncivilized tongue, he referred to what he had seen in Uganda. There the native Christians, of all sects, in their conflicts with the Heathen and the Moslems, "had taken as their symbol 'the book', sinking all minor differences, and coming together on the common ground of their common belief in 'the book' that was the most precious gift the white men had brought to them."

To give point to his argument, he used Huxley's famous comment:

"The Bible has been the Magna Charta of the poor and of the oppressed. Down to modern times no State has had a constitution in which the interests of the people are so largely taken into account, in which the duties so much more than the privileges of the rulers are insisted upon, as that drawn up for Israel in Deuteronomy and in Leviticus; nowhere is the fundamental truth that the welfare of the state in the long run depends upon the righteousness of the citizen so strongly laid down....The

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Bible is the most democratic book in the world."

He was never satisfied to relate history and facts. In all his writing and addresses it was the same. There must be the application, the appeal. In the present instance, he included in his appeal one of the finest eulogies ever spoken on the Scriptures:

"I make my appeal not only to professing Christians; I make it to every man who seeks after a high and useful life, to every man who seeks the inspiration of religion, or who endeavors to make his life conform to a high ethical standard; to every man who, be he Jew or Gentile, whatever his form of religious belief, whatever creed he may profess, faces life with the real desire not only to get out of it what is best, but to do his part in everything that tells for the ennobling and uplifting of humanity."

In 1901, he delivered an address before the Long Island Bible Society in the Presbyterian

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church at Oyster Bay. He opened with an appraisal of the Scriptures that should have wide circulation:

“There are certain truths which are so very true that we call them truisms; and yet I think we often half forget them in practice. Every thinking man, when he thinks, realizes what a very large number of people tend to forget, that the teachings of the Bible are so interwoven and entwined with our whole civic and social life that it would be literally—I do not mean figuratively, I mean literally—impossible for us to figure to ourselves what that life would be if these teachings were removed. We would lose almost all the standards by which we now judge both public and private morals; all the standards toward which we, with more or less resolution, strive to raise ourselves. Almost every man who has by his life work added to the sum of human achievement of which the race is proud, almost every such man has based his life work largely upon the teachings of the Bible.”

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Several of his friends have recorded their impressions of Roosevelt's devotion to the church and the Bible, and his religious life in general. None of them are better than that remark of the hardy backwoodsman, honest, generous-hearted Bill Sewall, who accompanied him so often into the solitudes of nature:

"I think he read the Bible a great deal. I never saw him in formal prayer, but as prayer is the desire of the heart, I think he prayed without ceasing, for the desire of his heart was always to do right."

I have mentioned all these experiences, and I could mention scores of others, because out of them grew my philosophy—perhaps they were in part caused by my philosophy—of bodily vigor as a method of getting that vigor of soul without which vigor of the body counts for nothing.

—THE VIGOR OF LIFE.

CHAPTER IV

A VIGOROUS CODE

At the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865, the nation found itself exhausted. By degrees, however, natural resources of greater and greater value were discovered; young men of vigor and vision pushed to the front; and industrial and commercial ventures of a magnitude never before thought possible began to be undertaken. Accumulations of wealth and power bred disregard of fundamental honesty, until, at the time of Roosevelt's graduation from college in 1880, personal honor and regard for the civil and moral law had been replaced by greed for gain and selfish striving for commanding position. These alarming conditions which threatened greater disruption to the state than had the Civil War, strange as it now appears in the light of the Roosevelt Crusade, had

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not been recognized by national leaders. At all events, if those set to govern did recognize the insidious peril they lacked the ability and daring to attack it.

It is a very remarkable thing, and one of the most notable features in the history of great Americans, that Theodore Roosevelt, immediately on being elected a member of the New York legislature, should have gone to the root of the iniquity. He was a young man of twenty-three. His traditions were of the aristocracy. He had a promising career as a naturalist or as an author. Instead of following either, he threw in his fortunes with a calling that in his day in New York savored of deep-seated corruption and all sorts of double dealing. The fact was freely admitted that an easy conscience was indispensable to political preferment. Theodore Roosevelt went in with his eyes open, kept his conscience clear and his mind elevated, and emerged with a prestige for honesty second to none. It was an astonishing achievement, and must not be passed unnoted. The singularly honest career of Roosevelt

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proves once more that those win in the battle who fight unhampered by subterfuge and a troublesome conscience.

At the outset of his career, he adopted a few policies to which he persistently adhered throughout his life. One of these may best be expressed in his own words, "Speak softly and carry a big stick," a phrase he used while speaking before a Chicago audience, April 2, 1903: "There is a homely old adage which runs, 'Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far.'"

A person of great common sense, he knew that the political game was a rough-and-tumble affair, a contest in which the weakling succumbed. Zealous moralist and upholder of high ideals, his faith was of the Gideon kind. Victory was for those who met the rough element with fighting tactics as aggressive as their own.

Theodore Roosevelt introduced into Christian conduct the militant spirit which it had long wanted. There was no place in his program for undeserved pity or that meek resig-

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nation that will receive and not return a blow. To his way of thinking, such persons did not make good citizens. He was not an apostle of the doctrine of renunciation. In his estimation, renunciation was liable to be the act of a timid and faltering nature, employed as a last resort with the hope that those seeing would applaud when actually there was nothing to praise.

His standards were those of the fighting men. Among all the honors that came to him, he prized highest that of leader of a fighting regiment. He referred to it often and always with justifiable pride and satisfaction. Yet no one expressed greater condemnation of the ruthless conqueror. The cause must be just. If just, then let battle be joined until victory is assured. Naturally he found a kindred spirit in King Albert of Belgium, that valorous and uncompromising leader who in 1914 stood between the German hordes and civilization. More than once he referred with profound admiration to his heroic stand, and declared he illustrated his idea of leadership. It did, too,

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for all his life Mr. Roosevelt opposed sordid materialism and supported high idealism. But ideals were of no use to him unless they could be applied. Those who have ideals and nothing else do little either for themselves or for any one else.

To him, righteousness was the end. If that end could be peacefully obtained, so much the better. If it could be obtained only by war, then war must be declared. It is folly to outlaw war when the righteous end can be secured only by means of war. Those preachers who preached peace at any price were destroyers not builders. He used vigorous language when describing them, naming them, "Foes to their country," "enemies of humanity," "untrue representatives of Christianity."

In dedicating his book entitled *Fear God and Take Your own Part*, to Julia Ward Howe, he wrote:

"She preached righteousness and she practised righteousness. She sought the peace that comes as the handmaiden of welldoing. She

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peached the stern and lofty courage of soul that shrinks neither from war nor from any form of hardship and danger if it is only thereby that justice can be served. She embodied that trait more essential than any other in the make-up of the men and women of the Republic—the valor of righteousness.”

He took particular delight in her “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” using it as a preface to the volume. Its ringing, martial tone and vigorous sentiment found an answering chord in his own valiant soul.

In the same volume, he quoted the New Testament with effect against the pacifists, for their vacillating policies had roused him to indignant protest. Germany had invaded Belgium; the *Lusitania* had been sunk; the Government was “watchfully waiting” in Mexico. An increasing number of citizens were demanding that the President take action. He said at that time:

“The pacifists have used all kinds of arguments in favor of peaceful submission to, or

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refusal to prepare against, international violence and wrong doing, and among others the very ancient arguments based upon the supposed teachings of the New Testament against war. In the first place, as I have already pointed out, this argument is quite incompatible with the lesson taught by the Saviour in driving the money-changers from the Temple; not to mention, incidentally, that the duty of preparedness has rarely been put in stronger form than by St. Luke in the direction that 'He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one.'

"In the next place, the plea is merely an instance of the adroit casuistry that can twist isolated teachings of the Gospels in any required direction. As a matter of fact, the Gospels do not deal with war at all. During the period they covered there was no war in Judea, and no question arising from the need of going to war."

He perceived with penetrating vision the destructive preaching of those men and women

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who discouraged preparedness when preparedness was necessary to the country's salvation. The following passage shows the importance he attached to a powerful Christianity:

“The nation that in actual practice fears God is the nation which does not wrong its neighbors, which does so far as possible help its neighbors, and which never promises what it cannot or will not or ought not to perform. The professional pacifists in and out of office who at peace congresses pass silly resolutions which cannot be, and ought not to be, lived up to, and enter into silly treaties which ought not to be, and cannot be kept, are not serving God, but Baal. They are not doing anything for anybody.”

“An individual or a nation has sadly misread the law of Christian service if that individual or nation does not first consider the need of being able, not alone to take a severe defeat, but to administer one.”

He likened the pacifists to the Pharisees.

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"These pacifists have served morality, have shown that they feared God, exactly as the Pharisees did, when they made broad their philacteries and uttered long prayers in public, but did not lift a finger to lighten the load of the oppressed."

Speaking of his entrance into politics he said on one occasion, "I always felt that I graduated from Harvard, went into the New York legislature, and began my education." He not only began his education but he also began what he himself termed, "that active and zealous warfare for the right," that terminated only when voice and pen were quieted forever.

In the spring of 1889, President Harrison appointed Roosevelt a member of the Civil Service Commission. In this capacity he served four years under Harrison and two under Cleveland. He had just passed thirty. He was actuated by the same kind of idealism that had made him demand an investigation of Judge Westbrook in the New York legislature.

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Although the youngest member of the Commission, he quickly became the leader. When he accepted the position, the spoils theory prevailed in the political world, the theory that the party victorious at the polls was entitled to all the plunder it could lay its hands on. The doctrine "to the victor belong the spoils" had prevailed for sixty years. In other words, as soon as a party was raised to power it proceeded to replace with its own supporters—the clerks, stenographers, secretaries, and mail carriers—the appointees of the supplanted party. This was done with entire disregard of merit and fitness. The system was vicious and had been frequently denounced, but no one, until the coming of Roosevelt, had been able to apply an effective remedy.

Roosevelt, with his highly sensitive feeling for justice, could not have sat on the Board of Commissioners and allowed the old dishonesty, inefficiency, and privilege to prevail. The fundamentals of honest government had been instilled into his mind in the early training he had received in church and home. His stan-

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dards were those of the Bible and the Heidelberg Catechism.

The young commissioner knew he was right in attempting to substitute the merit system for the spoils system, so he lined up his two colleagues, and enforced the law with the utmost rigor. Opposition developed at once in the form of intrenched privilege; and several lively fights resulted. The evil could not be removed without striking, and striking hard, at several highly placed individuals from Cabinet officers down, who had, as Roosevelt explained it, "a natural dislike for law enforcement of any kind," and who had important personal interests at stake. The situation called for a man who had not only the moral purpose but executive ability and intelligent direction. Such a man was the young commissioner. Roosevelt's firm stand made bitter enemies, but he was right and knew it, and they were wrong and also knew it.

The opposition soon organized and attacked in force the motives, methods, acts, and even the personalities of the reformers; but neither

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misrepresentation, ridicule, nor a final withholding of appropriations could stop the work of the Commission. Like Samson among the Philistines, this vigorous young giant attacked mightily this evil and that evil, and in the end succeeded in placing the advantages of the merit system and civil service examination so strongly before the country that ever since the spoils idea has been losing ground, and it is only a question of time when it will go the way of all destructive practices.

Roosevelt was a champion of the oppressed. In his eyes it was poor religion for a Christian government to thrust brutally from office faithful public servants who lacked political influence. On one occasion he learned of a widow with two children, who had been employed at a bureau in Washington at a salary of \$800. The amount had been sufficient to provide the family with food and shelter. The woman was faithful and efficient; but one day the chief of the bureau informed her that he would be obliged to dismiss her. She asked the reason. He told her that an influential member of the

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Senate had demanded her place for a friend of his who had influence. The woman who had been thirteen or fourteen years in the public service pleaded to be allowed to remain, explaining that dismissal meant starvation, for she had no friends. The bureau chief, a person of humane instincts, allowed her to remain.

Three weeks later the senator who had made the request asked why the change had not been made, informing the chief that he himself would have to go if he did not remove the woman. She was removed. It was such instances as this, and he came across many of them, that induced Roosevelt to seize the big stick and wield it. It was not safe for wrong in any form to rear its head in his presence, for it was sure to be attacked and nine times out of ten driven to the wall. The cause of applied Christianity had in him a knight-errant.

The American people owe a debt of gratitude to Theodore Roosevelt for giving the nation a Christian conscience. Lord Bryce said in 1899, "Theodore Roosevelt is the hope

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of American politics." At the coming of Roosevelt, America was deep in the mire of political and commercial corruption. The democracy of the people was becoming the autocracy of the privileged rich. He came and, like the good physician, provided the cure of applied idealism, which was first smiled at, then tolerated, and finally gratefully accepted because it was seen to heal the patient. But many years must elapse before the Republic fully understands the depth of the slough of despond out of which Theodore Roosevelt rescued it.

No sooner was his term of service concluded as member of the Civil Service Commission than Mayor William F. Strong of New York City, who had gone into office on a reform wave, invited him to help clean up the city. He made him president of the Police Commission. The police force of New York in those days was notoriously bad. Appointments and promotions were openly bought and sold, and a system of graft was in force more brazen than any that had previously prevailed. New

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York had 12,000 saloons which defiantly set to one side the Sunday-closing law. The saloon keepers made and unmade the municipal government, controlled the police—in fact, ruled the city. The police in turn held at their mercy fruit venders, small saloon keepers, keepers of houses of prostitution, and gambling dens. Money could buy anything in New York. The municipal government had sunk about as low as it could, and was a reproach to all law-abiding, self-respecting communities. To reform the police would mean to reform the town. He perceived the truth of that as soon as he took office. The police force, corrupt to the core, had corrupted the city. His duty was plain—to use the police to make the city of New York a better place in which to live. Other commissioners had made the attempt and failed. But one now had taken his place in Mulberry Street who had a moral conviction that the time had come to clean up New York. It was right to do this thing, so of course it would have to be done.

One of his first acts was to order the saloons

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closed on Sunday, in conformity with the Sunday-closing law. In the first place the law was on the statute books and should be enforced; second, open saloons on Sunday meant a vast increase of crime and misery; third, his covenanting conscience objected to seeing the sacred day desecrated. Immediately a wave of indignant protest swept the city. The commissioner's mail was filled with such abusive epithets as: "You are the biggest crank and fool in the world." "You have wrecked the Republican party." "You have killed yourself politically. You will never be heard from again." Even the good people, the people in favor of Sunday closing, objected vigorously to the methods proposed, and were unwilling to pay the price in abandonment of privileges they had enjoyed under the old régime. Roosevelt held steadily to his course, enforced the Sunday-closing law, and by a system of rewards for efficient and gallant service, in a few months built up the police force until in point of service it compared favorably with any in the world.

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Among the beneficial results of his reforms none pleased Roosevelt more than improvement of conditions in the tenements. His friend Jacob A. Riis told him that hundreds of mothers who in the days of Sunday-open saloons had not been able to take their children into the country, now were taken there by their husbands. Father, mother, and children spent the day in the fields and woods. Hospitals reported fewer cases of injury due to drunken brawls, police courts and pawn shops reported a slack time, and savings banks recorded greatly enlarged accounts. From being a city of blackmail, bribery, and perversion of justice, New York became one of the best governed cities. In the two years he sat at police headquarters at Mulberry Street, Roosevelt had applied more Christianity to the corrupt city than had been applied for years by the churches. His creed was to help the man who was down, to encourage honesty and fair-play, and to discourage mendacity and shirking.

Why did Theodore Roosevelt accept the hard and unpopular task of fighting the spoils

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system? Why did he undertake to clean up New York in the face of ridicule, threats on his life, and an overwhelming opposition? He went about these tasks because they presented themselves as simple duties. He attacked the gray wolves who supported the spoils system, and waged righteous war in Mulberry Street because they were right things to do. Had he been impelled by lesser motives he could not have carried through his reforms, for the task in both instances was one for a man of resolute ideals, tried valor, and strong for truth.

This applied idealism, based on his early religious training, furnished motive power from an impulse bent on righteousness, and remained with him as long as he lived. It explains his exceptional character, which enabled him to achieve for America and humanity what Washington and Lincoln achieved, who also were men of deep religious convictions.

This nation has had many men and women of steadfast purpose and lofty vision. But it has not had one who has better exemplified the Valor of righteousness.

*And therefore we turn scornfully
aside from the paths of mere ease
and idleness, and with unfaltering
steps tread the rough road of endeavor,
smiting down the wrong, and
battling for the right; as Great
Heart smote and battled in Bunyon's
immortal story.*

—NATIONAL DUTIES.

CHAPTER V

THE ROOSEVELT LAW OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

Theodore Roosevelt was the author of a number of original expressions. These expressions, always forceful, have survived, and several of them are established maxims. We have spoken of one of them. Two others that have passed into common use are, "The square deal," and "Play the game fair."

Speaking of his readiness to share with his friends, his sister, Mrs. Douglas Robinson, said in a lecture, "He liked to share with others, and was always ready to give them the best he had, the best of his intellect, his courtesy, his vitality, and his goods."

He gave freely, no man more so, but in his philosophy of life giving implied something. He believed implicitly that the person is most benefited who gives in proportion as he has re-

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ceived. That was his way of interpreting the square deal. "Play the game fair," he insisted, "but hit the line hard." In his emphasis on equality of giving and receiving, Roosevelt gave the philosophy of service a new interpretation, an interpretation that was more honest than that state of mind that gives, disclaiming desire of reward, but none the less expects reward and is disappointed if it does not receive it.

Roosevelt was a mighty hunter; he hunted and killed about every specimen of big game on this continent and in Africa. But in his hunting the spirit of fair play invariably entered. He was what is known among hunters as a good sportsman, that is, he gave the animal a fair chance. His books on hunting are filled with this idea of fair dealing. The hunt with him was not a pursuit for the mere purpose of killing, but a contest between the wit of the animal and the wit of the man, and he frequently wrote in glowing language of the wily animal that had outwitted him.

He did not condemn the capitalist because

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he was a capitalist, nor the man of power because he was a man of power, nor the captain of industry because he was a captain of industry. He condemned capitalism only when the capital had been fraudulently acquired; power only when the power was misused; captains of industry only when they were unscrupulous. He would as readily consider guilty the poor man if in his poverty he was meanly disposed, recalcitrant to his family obligations or idle. He applied the simple test of right and wrong, as Washington had done in the matter of independence for the Colonies, as Lincoln had done when he wrote the Emancipation Proclamation, as his father had done when he organized the charities of New York.

He expressed himself freely about the iniquity of favoring the big interests. "Nothing is sillier," he said once, "than this outcry on behalf of the 'innocent stockholders' in the corporations. We are besought to pity the Standard Oil Company for a fine relatively far less great than the fines every day inflicted in the police courts upon multitudes of pushcart ped-

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dlers and other petty offenders, whose woes never extort one word from the men whose withers are wrung by the woes of the mighty."

He sensed keenly the gigantic evils that had come to rear their heads in the social and economic life of the nation, partly, at least, the fruit of prosperity. He repeatedly preached the necessity of removing those evils before they had eaten the life out of the nation. "All I ask is," he said, "to be sure that we do not use the knife with an ignorant zeal which would make it more dangerous to the patient than to the disease."

This element of impartiality in his law of righteousness was well illustrated in the strike of the Federation of Western Miners in 1907. The organization was accused of instigating the murder of Governor Steunenberg of Idaho, under the leadership of the anarchists, and including Moyer and Haywood. Roosevelt, aware of the necessity of punishing these men, classed them with certain big capitalists notoriously corrupt, as "undesirable citizens." But members of the Federation did not relish the

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idea of being classed with capitalists as undesirable citizens, and wrote Mr. Roosevelt to that effect. At this time the trial for the murders and other outrages that attended the strike was on, and the Federation leaders were seeking the sympathy of the public. Roosevelt wrote a reply which showed clearly that he did not believe in qualifying justice. "You want," he wrote, "the square deal for the defendants only. I want the square deal for every one. It is equally a violation of the policy of the square deal for a capitalist who is guilty of wrong-doing and for a labor leader to protest against the denunciation of a labor leader who has been guilty of wrong-doing."

The further one goes into a study of the career of this extraordinary man, the more one becomes convinced that the motive that controlled his actions from the beginning to the end was the desire to treat his fellow men with absolute fairness. He offended frequently. His enemies multiplied. He was assailed from press and platform. But no amount of opposition could deter him once he was con-

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vinced that the course on which he had embarked was right. He would follow it until he reached the haven or went down in the storm. He applied a similar test in his treatment of conditions. The fact that a condition was honored by tradition and supported by powerful interests influenced him not at all if he had discovered that the condition was corrupt. "Is it wrong?" he asked. If the answer was an affirmative one, then he applied the knife no matter how loudly the press raged, how many friends were alienated, or how remote seemed the victory.

But he would form no partnership with the professional reformer whose aim too often was the success of his personal program rather than correction of existing abuses; for no man better than he could detect hypocrisy, and no man despised it more. He used to say, "There is a lunatic fringe to every reform movement."

He insisted on absolute justice. He had small use for history that was written from the partisan point of view. Thus he gave credit to England in his book on the Naval

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War of 1812 for heroic exploits on the sea. He gave the British generals, Cornwallis and Tarleton, credit for military genius and dashing courage in their contest with the Colonists at the time of the American Revolution. He was ever a friend of the South, of the honest immigrant, of the Indian, and of the Negro.

The moral issue was paramount with him. He would not pardon men or women under just sentence for serious crimes, holding that such action was unjust to the community, any more than he would men of great wealth who had been detected in criminal practices.

Observing the tendency of college graduates to hasten into the most lucrative calling, the one requiring the least expenditure of mental or physical energy, he believed that "what we need is to turn out of our colleges young men with ardent convictions on the side of right; not young men who can make a good argument for either right or wrong as their interest bids them."

He liked books and magazines that stood for individual virtue and the necessity of charac-

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ter, which he believed with all his being were indispensable elements of any man's success. Law will not make a man a useful citizen; popular favor will not; a large vote will not. He must have in himself worthy incentives—sympathetic comprehension of the problem of others; moral energy, tireless industry.

In his addresses and his writing, he was constantly urging on the state strict observance of the moral law. Thus in a speech delivered before the Hamilton Club in Chicago, on September 8, 1910, he remarked:

“It has been well said that the progress, the true progress, of a people can best be gauged by their standard of moral conduct, by their judgment as to what conduct is moral and what conduct is immoral, and by the effectiveness with which they make their approbation of the moral, and their disapprobation of the immoral, felt. No republic can last if corruption is allowed to eat into its public life. No republic can last if the private citizens sit

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supinely by and either encourage or tolerate corruption among their representatives.”

His life was full to overflowing with varied activity and great responsibility. He was confronted constantly with the necessity of making prompt and difficult decisions; but his enemies, try as they might, were not able to discover evidence of dishonesty or deception. All he did was wide open and clear as daylight. He was mistaken at times. He used vigorous language when aroused. But he was sincere, he meant what he said, and was prepared to back up his position. Ever ready to speak his mind, he found it necessary on occasion to show considerable resolution in supporting his statement. In *Roosevelt in the Bad Lands*, Hermann Hagedorn, the author, relates the following instance:

“A story-teller who had gained the sobriquet of ‘Foul-mouthed Bill’ was one day discoursing in his best vein to an admiring group of cow-punchers. Roosevelt, who was in the

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group, endured the flow of indescribable English as long as he could. Then, suddenly, in a pause, when the approving laughter had subsided, he began slowly to 'skin his teeth'.

" 'Bill Jones,' he said, looking straight into the saturnine face, and speaking in a low, quiet voice, 'I can't tell why in the world I like you, for you're the nastiest-talking man I ever heard.' "

"Bill Jones's hand fell on his six-shooter. The cow-punchers, knowing their man, expected shooting. But Bill Jones did not shoot. For an instant the silence in the room was absolute. Gradually a sheepish look crept around the enormous and hideous mouth of Bill Jones.

" 'I don't belong to your outfit, Mr. Roosevelt,' he said, 'and I'm not beholden to you for anything. All the same I don't mind saying that mebbe I've been a little too free with my mouth.' "

This illustrates not only Roosevelt's resource but his detestation of profanity.

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The universal testimony of those associated with him was that his manner of speaking was singularly free from profane expressions.

In a letter written to the New York *Evening Post*, July 13, 1922, Henry Cabot Lodge said:

“I knew Mr. Roosevelt very intimately for more than thirty years. During all his life in Washington I saw him constantly, closely, and intimately. He was in no sense a profane man. I have no remembrance of him as ever using words which are commonly called profane. Profanity is in no wise associated with any memory that I have of him. It is impossible for any one person to say, no matter how intimate and close his association, that Colonel Roosevelt never used in his life a profane word, but certainly in my long experience as one of his friends I can say that my memory absolutely is that I should never even have thought of associating profaneness with his conversation in any way.”

In a letter published in the same issue, Gifford Pinchot said:

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"I can recall no single instance in which I overheard Colonel Roosevelt use profanity of any kind, although I saw him constantly—often daily, and sometimes many times a day—throughout the whole of his administration and afterward."

He vigorously opposed the saloon throughout his life. Shortly after the canteen had been removed from the army, efforts were made to restore it on the ground that the soldiers sought other and worse places for intoxicants. Mr. Roosevelt said at that time to Dr. Ferdinand C. Iglehart:

"The removal of drink from the army was a most fortunate thing for the men themselves and for the nation they represent, and I promise you that so long as I am President, or so long as I have any influence whatever in the Republican party or in American politics, intoxicants shall not come back into the canteen."

Toward the close of Mr. Roosevelt's second

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term of office as President, rumors got into the press to the effect that he used intoxicants. In his usual decisive fashion he declared the reports without foundation, and made public his position, declaring that the charge was entirely false, and must have been invented by a political enemy, since he practically never touched intoxicants of any kind, even placing wine on the prohibited list.

He had been taught in the home of his father to engage in the act of prayer and reverently followed that custom. He attended the service of communion regularly. The day before Quentin sailed for France, the family went together to church and knelt about the altar; and when news came that the son had been killed in action, the father led his family to the same sacred place.

Theodore Roosevelt was great because he could sense the coming of the new day in world history and especially in American history, and because he could prepare the way for that new day with realizable ideals. America had strayed far from the fundamentals taught by

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Washington and Lincoln. He halted the national tendency and started the trend again upward. With tireless zeal he preached justice as a fact to be incorporated into the lives of the people, and equality as a fact that should actually operate every day in such a democracy as that of the United States. He had the people with him from the start. The trouble came when he proposed to apply the square deal within the privileged circle of capital and legislation.

Where did he get his amazing and revolutionary doctrine of the square deal? The term "equality of service" had long been on the ethical statute books, but chiefly as a platitude. He was forever studying philosophies and histories, not so much for intellectual exercise and the pleasure of the study as to find wise teachings of which he could make practical use. One day he chanced on a saying in George Borrow's book *Lavengro*, a saying of the heroine, "Fear God and take your own part." The discovery inspired an article in the introduction of which Roosevelt explained his religious belief:

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“Fear God and take your own part. Fear God in the true sense of the word means love God, respect God, honor God; and all of this can only be done by loving our neighbor, treating him justly and mercifully, and in all ways endeavoring to protect him from injustice and cruelty; thus obeying, so far as our human frailty will permit, the great and immutable law of righteousness. We fear God when we do justice to, and demand justice for, the men within our own borders. We are false to the teachings of righteousness if we do not do such justice and demand such justice. We must do it to the weak, and we must do it to the strong. We do not fear God if we show mean envy and hatred of those who are better off than we are; and still less do we fear God if we show a base arrogance towards, and selfish lack of consideration for, those who are less well off. We must apply the same standard of conduct alike to man and to woman, to rich man and to poor man, to employer and employee. . . . *No man can take the part of any one else unless he is able to take his own part.*”

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This chapter will have failed of its purpose if it has not indicated Roosevelt's contempt for a certain belief miscalled Christianity that would counsel continual giving but no receiving. In his estimation, that sort of belief was pale, anæmic, and stultifying, not fit for a place in a world where only those men win who know how to fight. He thoroughly believed that the other fellow is benefited most by giving full value for value received and that there can be no square deal without two persons who are willing to take equal shares.

In other words, his religion placed citizens on an equal footing with equal distribution of justice; it also demanded that there should be no dependents, no shirkers, and no grafters. In adopting this attitude, he was but putting into practice the New Testament admonition:

“The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: . . . but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not. For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will

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not move them with one of their fingers. But all their works they do to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments. . . . But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant."

Theodore Roosevelt was devoted to justice and equality, terms that to him were living, pulsating realities, not expressions glibly used by orators and then forgotten. Justice meant justice alike to powerful capitalists and obscure laborers. Equality meant equality before the moral judgment bar where the verdict was not determined by color, creed, or nationality.

This sentence of his should be written in letters that glow, and hung in every school-house in the land:

I DO NOT BELIEVE IN NEUTRALITY BETWEEN RIGHT AND WRONG. I BELIEVE IN JUSTICE.
--

The eighth commandment reads, "Thou shalt not steal." It does not read, "Thou shalt not steal from the rich man." It does not read, "Thou shalt not steal from the poor man." It reads simply and plainly, "Thou shalt not steal."

—LIFE OF WORTHY ENDEAVOR.

CHAPTER VI

APPLYING THE EIGHTH COMMANDMENT

Thou shalt not steal!

Mr. Roosevelt had what we might term a vivid moral imagination, that is, he keenly sensed a surrender to lowered ideals. He was exceptional in this attribute for most of his fellow citizens accepted as a matter of course the world into which they happened to be born, its standards and ways of doing things. Roosevelt accepted nothing until it had been tried in the pure fires of principle. No man of his time perceived more clearly the imperative duty of waging uncompromising war on unprincipled bosses, heartless corporations, and dishonest judges. He could not abide dishonesty in any form, and would not rest until he had exposed and punished it.

He learned valuable lessons in the New York

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legislature and on the Civil Service Commission. By the time he had accepted the position of president of the New York Police Board, May, 1895, he had made up his mind that improvement in political conditions alone was not enough, that a more important battle remained to be fought, namely for more just economic conditions, and for honest dealing between individuals and between groups of different kinds. Political betterment was not the end, but the means to social and industrial betterment. Always a person of intense moral convictions, those convictions became more and more deeply seated as experience widened, and his moral nature constantly developed breadth and power.

He saw that fair dealing between employers and their workers, strong corporations and weaker rivals, producers and consumers, class and class, and race and race, must come, if at all, through every man and woman working with every other man and woman.

“A body of public opinion must be formed,

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must make itself felt, and in the end transform and be transformed by the gradual rising of individual standards of conduct."

"We must judge rich man and poor man alike by a standard which rests on conduct and not on caste, and we must frown with the same stern severity on the mean and vicious envy which hates and would plunder a man because he is well off and on the brutal and selfish arrogance which looks down on and exploits the man with whom life has gone hard."

One of his longest and hardest battles was fought against the powerful combination of brains and capital which was plundering without scruple. The trusts had assumed giant proportions, and as they waxed great they parted company with conscience and their obligation to the people. Mr. Roosevelt's courage in carrying the war into the camp of the most powerful interests in the country has been widely commented upon, but there was more than courage back of the action; there was that never resting ethical principle. The trusts

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were wrong. The rights of the people were being invaded. The citizens of the United States were being deprived of their rights under the Constitution. He could no more have remained quiescent under the deep-dyed abuse than the thunder can cease from rolling when the lightning flashes.

In the course of lectures on Realizable Ideals that Roosevelt gave in September, 1911, at the Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, California, there was one which he called "The Public Servant and the Eighth Commandment." In that lecture he summarized his convictions with reference to the conduct of men in responsible public office, or who controlled large business interests. He held that the first essential in a public man or one at the head of a business was honesty. But if honesty is required in public service and business leadership, it is also required in government and in the conscience of the people. Justice is only justice when it is applied to every man in every station. Let the individual act the good citizen in his own home first; then let him do his

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best to create an atmosphere in business circles and in public life that will make perversion of justice unpopular.

Mr. Roosevelt's wide experience with men in the legislature, in the Dakota round-ups, in police circles in New York City, in the army, and as chief executive of New York and of the nation had disclosed three facts: (1) An appalling amount of downright corruption; (2) discouraging cynicism among men who practiced corruption; (3) difficulty in bringing public opinion to the point where it would displace the corrupt men.

He early concluded that the state suffered from having in its employ men who were only as honest as the requirements of the districts they represented forced them to be. As he said:

"When I say that the prime need is that the public servant shall obey The Eighth Commandment, I do not mean merely that he shall keep himself in such shape that a clever lawyer can get him off if he is charged with theft. I mean that he shall be honest intensively and

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extensively. I mean that he shall act with the same fine sense of honor toward the public, and on behalf of the public, that we expect to be shown by those neighbors with whom we are willing to trust not only our money but our good names."

At the outset of his career Roosevelt gave evidence of an acute sense of distinction between what is thine and what is mine. Once during his ranching days in the Bad Lands of Dakota, while on a neighbor's range, the Thistle Range, with a recently hired cow-puncher, he came across an unbranded yearling. Now it was a custom of the cow country that when an unbranded calf was found on any range the person finding it should put on it the brand of that particular range. The cow-puncher accompanying Roosevelt roped the calf and threw it. A little fire was built in the sage brush and the branding iron was heated preparatory to branding the animal. The cow-puncher started to run on the brand, and Roosevelt asked, "The Thistle Brand?" The cow-puncher replied, "That's all right, boss; I know my business."

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Watching a moment, Roosevelt said, "Hold on; you're using my brand." "Yes," responded the cow-puncher, "I always use the boss's brand." "You do?" replied Roosevelt. "You go back to the house and get your time. If you will steal for me, you will steal from me."

"That applies in lots of occupations besides that of cow-puncher," observed Roosevelt, once, as he was relating the incident. "And nowhere does it apply more directly than in public life."

He was just as careful to apply the doctrine of honest possession in the White House as he had been on the cattle ranges. He was the reformer President. The attacks he made on members of his party, his friends, and the powerful interests required unflinching courage and plenty of endurance. He was a Republican and believed in the fundamental principles of that party, but he would not place party above principle, and expressed contempt for those who did. It didn't matter much in what quarter he found dishonesty and misappropriation, as soon as he found it he uttered

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his war cry of the square deal, and seized the big stick. A good many Republicans of those days were waxing fat on the assumption that to the victorious party belong the spoils. Roosevelt set himself squarely against the unholy practice of those men, several of whom were persons of far-reaching influence. Like Abraham Lincoln, he relied upon the power of justice and the good sense of the voting citizens. The fact that he was right, and that the voters sustained him enabled him to put through the necessary reform.

The privileged interests within the party were overreaching themselves. The integrity of the country was threatened. At that time, travelers in European countries learned that Europeans had come to regard the United States as the nation that had been founded, and perpetuated for a season, on the ideal of justice to governor and governed, but that in the latter years the ideal had toppled, and the republic was controlled by unscrupulous public men, and, in the grasp of conscienceless big business, was riding to a fall. The attitude of

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arrogance that prevailed was well illustrated in the familiar remark of Mr. Vanderbilt, president of one of the largest American railways, "The public be damned!" It was the day of the trusts. For example, the United States Steel Corporation combined eleven large plants under a capitalization of \$1,100,000,000. Many important industries evaded laws that would have applied to them as individual concerns by merging and distributing their holdings. J. Pierpont Morgan and other magnates, backed by the wealth and influence of Wall Street, defended by the ablest of corporation lawyers, did about as they pleased with the government and the people.

President Roosevelt's battle with this powerful combination of brains, wealth, and system constitutes one of the most thrilling chapters of American history. It should be familiar to every boy and girl, for it illustrates the need of good citizens to counteract ever recurring perils that would undermine the American commonwealth. Roosevelt fought the good fight as the youthful David, armed only with

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ideals, laughed at by Goliath, his adversary and many times a champion. He won because justice was on his side, and because the people knew it and held up his hands.

During his administration as President, the eight-hour law that hitherto had been a mockery became effective. Laws were passed protecting the lives and health of miners, street-car conductors and motormen, and factory employees. The Bureau of Mines was started. A women's compensation act was passed, and a compensation law for government employees. Another act provided for an investigation of woman and child labor in the United States. A child labor committee was incorporated. Laws were enacted improving safety appliances on trains, and regulating hours of labor for railroad employees. The administration warred on the soulless corporations until the corporations, goaded by exposure and defeat, opened wide their reservoirs of wealth and distributed enormous sums to prevent Roosevelt's re-election in 1904.

Early in the spring of 1902, a strike began

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in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania that rapidly extended until it became a national menace. As the probability of a coalless winter grew, and the suffering increased, Governor Crane of Massachusetts and Mayor Low of New York City urged President Roosevelt to take action. In the estimation of the President, Pennsylvania, New York, and New England faced a peril equal to that of an invasion by a powerful hostile army.

The big coal operators had combined and refused to arbitrate, confident that increasing suffering among the miners would compel them to meet the demands of the operators. September passed with no sign of weakening in either party, though each party asked Roosevelt to institute proceedings against the other. The miners, led by John Mitchell, accepted the President's proposal of a commission; the operators, arrogant and self-willed rejected it. A deadlock seemed inevitable when the owners declared they would accept a commission provided no labor man was appointed. Roosevelt met their demands by appointing E. E.

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Clark, head of the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, calling him an "eminent sociologist." The commission consisted of seven men and included a Catholic bishop and a Catholic priest, and it acted so judiciously that the strike was settled in time to prevent disastrous consequences.

The impressive feature of the strike, for this discussion, was the light it threw on Roosevelt's eagerness to mete out equal-handed justice. He wished to save the operators from the consequences of their folly, he wished to relieve the distress of the 150,000 miners and their families, and he was not willing that the public should suffer. Had the commission failed, he was prepared to place the region under martial law and reopen the mines.

"More and more," [he said once] "we must shape conditions so that each man shall have a fair chance. As long as human nature is what it is, there will be inequality of service, and where there is inequality of service, there ought to be inequality of reward. That is jus-

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tice. *Equal reward for unequal service is injustice.* All I am trying to help bring about is such a condition of affairs that there shall be measurable approximation to a higher reward than at present for the right kind of service, and a less reward than at present for some forms of activity that do not represent real service at all. In other words, our government ideal is to secure as far as possible the even distribution of justice—using the word ‘justice’ in its largest and finest sense.”

Nothing could illustrate better the devotion of Roosevelt to the religion of honest dealing in community and nation than this passage selected from the lecture “The Public Servant and the Eighth Commandment”:

“It has been finely said that the supreme task of humanity is to subordinate the whole fabric of civilization to the service of the soul. There is a soul in the community, a soul in the nation, as there is a soul in the individual; and exactly as the individual hopelessly mars him-

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self if he lets his conscience be dulled by the constant repetition of unworthy acts, so the nation will hopelessly blunt the popular conscience, if it permits its public men continually to do acts which the nation in its heart of hearts knows are acts that cast discredit upon our whole public life."

He was no respecter of class when it came to hunting down dishonest men. He was even more alert in ferreting out dishonesty in his own group than any other. In a speech delivered at Kansas City, September 1, 1910, he declared that there was no need for his political opponents to raise the cry, "Turn the rascals out," for he had turned them out himself. In the same address, he explained that honesty cannot be "unilateral":

"Good citizens should cordially distrust the man who can never see dishonesty excepting in men of the class he dislikes. The reckless agitator who invariably singles out men of wealth as furnishing the only examples of dishonesty; the equally unscrupulous—but no

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more unscrupulous—reactionary who can see dishonesty only in a blackmailing politician or a crooked labor leader; both stand on the same plane of obnoxiousness. You will never get honesty from politicians until you exact honesty from business men. On the other hand you brand yourselves as fools or hypocrites if you say that the corporation owner, or the employer, is always the dishonest man, and the poor man never; that it is only the wealthy man who corrupts the politician and never the politician who blackmails the corporation.”

He knew—no one better—that honesty is a matter of character, and not of occupation or class. The great corporation can be honest and the man of small means a blackmailer, just as the man of small means can be honest and the corporation corrupt. He called men to judgment not on the basis of what they possessed, but of what they were.

Finally he asked that the people themselves practice applied honesty, reminding each of

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them that he was, as an American citizen, "The custodian of the hope of the world." If each individual American citizen failed in integrity, woe to him, woe to his fellow countrymen and woe to the world. He urged private honesty, also, for the sake of the children who were to follow, that the line of succession from Washington and Lincoln might be preserved intact, "so that America shall always stand as the symbol of golden hope to the nations of mankind."

The cardinal sin of the public man is theft. The cardinal sin of the public writer is mendacity. I abhor a thief; and I abhor a liar as much as I abhor a thief. I abhor the assassin who tries to kill a man; I abhor almost equally the assassin of that man's character.

—SHAPING OF PUBLIC OPINION AND
THE NINTH COMMANDMENT.

CHAPTER VII

APPLYING THE NINTH COMMANDMENT

*Thou shalt not bear false witness against
thy neighbour.*

Mr. Roosevelt considered the eighth and ninth commandments particularly applicable to public conditions, for one commanded the honest hand while the other commanded the honest tongue. If there was one person more than another for whom he felt profound contempt, it was the person with the forked tongue. He himself was the soul of candor. He would not dissimulate. What he had to say to an individual, he said to him direct and face to face. In his fight for a clean state, he ran counter to numbers of men who were expert in trimming their sails to meet the prevailing wind. These men cared not what they did,

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nor for whom they worked provided the price paid was large enough.

May 12, 1900, he published in the *Outlook* an article which he called, "The Eighth and Ninth Commandments in Politics," in which he explained how gravely those endanger the country who bear false witness against the honest man. In that article he wrote:

" 'Liar' is just as ugly a word as 'thief' because it implies the presence of just as ugly a sin in the one case as in the other. If a man lies under oath, or procures the lie of another under oath, if he perjures himself or suborns perjury, he is guilty under the statute law. Under the higher law, under the great law of morality and righteousness, he is precisely as guilty if, instead of lying in a court, he lies in a newspaper or on the stump; and in all probability the evil effects of his conduct are infinitely more widespread and more pernicious. The difference between perjury and mendacity is not in the least one of morals or ethics. It is simply one of legal forms."

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He found plenty of invective for editors, reformers, and clergymen who assailed men and conditions without proper knowledge of the facts. Criticism was needed, but the critic should remain silent unless he was assured that his criticism was truthful. "It is quite as important not to tell an untruth about a decent man as it is to tell the truth about one who is not decent."

When a certain newspaper reporter hit upon the name "Ananias Club," Mr. Roosevelt eagerly seized upon it for cataloguing those shifty individuals who misrepresented facts. The Club served to put them where they belonged and to reveal their exact status to the country. The name especially appealed to him on account of his intimate knowledge of the Bible, where the mendacity of Ananias and Sapphira, his wife, is recorded. The instance is recorded in the fifth chapter of Acts, where the two conspired to hold back from the apostles, Peter and John, part of the price of the land they had bought, representing it as the whole. Hence the Ananias Club was an ex-

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cellent organization into which to put modern deceivers, men who could not be depended on to tell the truth or to represent the exact facts against one's neighbor.

He thought it would be well for writers and speakers to keep in mind the comment of Pudd'nhead Wilson, who said that while there were nine hundred and ninety-nine kinds of falsehood, the only kind specifically condemned in Scripture, just as murder, theft, and adultery are condemned, was bearing false witness against ones neighbor.

The Ananias Club rapidly became famous. The country delighted in it. Roosevelt took an immense delight in adding to the membership, and secretly not a little satisfaction in getting before the country the names of false-hearted men who had long and bitterly opposed his policy of reform. He may have assigned persons to membership who did not deserve the notoriety. Roosevelt was not a paragon of patience when opposition from individuals he considered in the wrong was concerned. He had intensely human qualities, which were

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at once his strength and his weakness. He spoke as he felt with impetuous fervor. A number of times in his career, notably when he endorsed the Ananias Club, following the organization of the Progressive party, and after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, he spoke and wrote with a bitter invective that made him many enemies, and seriously impaired his influence in the estimation of a number of good people. As a matter of fact, his attitude in these instances was proof of his honesty. Other persons feel, and dissimulate, or remain silent through policy. Roosevelt felt, and spoke his convictions, though he must have known the result, for no man understood better how public opinion shapes itself. His enemies charged him with a long list of shortcomings. No one of them, however, at any time accused him of being a hypocrite; his wide-open honesty of purpose was too evident.

Roosevelt originated the term "muckraker," using the phrase first in an address given March 17, 1906, at a dinner prepared by Speaker Cannon for the Gridiron Club in

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Washington. He took the figure from *Pilgrim's Progress* where is described the Man with the Muckrake who would not look up to take the celestial crown offered him, but kept his eyes on the filth he was raking up. Newspapers and magazines, at the time when the Roosevelt publicity method was uncovering an unbelievable amount of corruption and special privilege in high places, made much of the opportunity, and printed articles that reeked with sensational discovery of malfeasance in high places. Roosevelt at once went to the heart of the matter. He said:

“Muckrakers who rake up much that ought to be raked up deserve well of the community, and the magazines and the newspapers which publish their writings do a public service. But they must write the truth, and the service they do must be real. The type of magazine I condemn is what may be called the Ananias muckraker type. No paper bought and sold by the special interests can be viler, or can play a more contemptible part in American politics, than

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the Ananias muckraker type of magazine, the type of magazine where the proprietor, editor and writer seek to earn their livelihood by telling what they know to be scandalous falsehoods about honest men."

He objected chiefly to that kind of writing because it confused the public mind. To accuse an honest man of dishonesty encourages rogues, and prevents decent citizens from distinguishing the true attack from the false. By and by the average citizen distrusts all public servants, becomes disheartened, and ceases to believe an honest efficient government possible.

Speaking after a political experience of thirty years, during which period he had not only every opportunity for observation, but the disposition and the mental balance to draw correct conclusions, he said that if he were to name three evils against which the nation should war most relentlessly, he would name dishonesty, lawless violence, untruthfulness, and mendacity—especially that kind of men-

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dacity that took the form of slander. In this connection, he remarked:

“For thirty years I have striven so far as the power was given me to fight for the cause of decency; and I feel that the greatest drawback in any such struggle is the man who consistently speaks what is not true until he misleads the public so that they cannot tell the true from the false.”

He had suffered severely from writers who had not understood his motives and who had misrepresented the cause for which he contended, and, therefore, was familiar with the immense power for harm possessed by these men. On more than one occasion, he forcefully expressed himself in this particular. The influence wielded by newspapers and popular magazines is enormous, and, in proportion to their influence, publishers, editors, writers, and reporters should consider themselves public servants, and as such quote only exact fact. They should spend themselves finding the

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truth, for it is what they write that determines public opinion. He heartily condemned that paper or magazine which sought to sell as many copies as possible, and that only, that gave the public what it wanted whether truth or falsehood. The first requisite of the person who writes should be honesty. He should not hesitate to tell the entire truth, however unpopular.

His ideal newspaper man or editor applies so well that we shall quote it. He included the description in an address on "The Public Press" given before the Milwaukee Press Club, September 7, 1910.

"The highest type of newspaper man ought to try to put his business above all other businesses. The editor who stands as a judge in a community should be one of the men to whom you would expect to look up, because his function as an editor makes him a more important man than the average merchant, the average business man, or the average professional man can be. He wields great influence;

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and he cannot escape the responsibility of wielding it. If he wields it well, honor is his beyond the honor that comes to the average man who does well. If he wields it ill, shame should be his beyond the shame that comes to the average man who does ill. And what I say of the editor applies to every man who writes for a newspaper, or a magazine, or who is connected with it in any capacity."

One of the achievements of the Roosevelt administration was the passing of the Pure Food and Drugs Act. The act was persistently opposed by a large number of merchants who were making fortunes by illicit sales of adulterated products, chiefly foods. These merchants sold goods by means of a deceptive label that misrepresented the contents of the package. Since the adulterated-food men advertised heavily in newspapers and magazines, papers and magazines carrying their advertisements threw in the great weight of their opposition. In fact, opposition was so well

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intrenched that six years passed before the bill became law.

On the same principle that false witness should not prevail in high places, Roosevelt prosecuted vigorously other malefactor corporations. Scandalous abuses were practiced in the large meat-packing houses of Chicago and other cities. Despite bitter opposition from the packers and their satellites, a good meat-investigation law was framed and passed. He stopped flagrant corruption by the railroads by abolishing the pernicious system of rebates and by favoring the passage of the Hepburn bill which gave the Interstate Commerce Commission control over the railroads. He uncovered frauds perpetrated by the great American Refining Company (the Sugar Trust), punished the criminals, and restored to the United States Treasury \$4,000,000 stolen by the Trust through a system of short weights.

Charles R. Heike, secretary and treasurer of the Sugar Trust, was convicted and sentenced to prison. About the same time, Charles W. Morse, a prominent New York banker, was

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convicted of fraudulent handling of the people's money and likewise sentenced. Both these men, due to the influence of their position, were able to get commutation of their sentences. In view of this, and influenced by the fact that several of their subordinates who had been associated with the big criminals were obliged to serve out their term in jail, Roosevelt wrote his opinion of condoning the evil deeds of powerful men.

“Every time a big moneyed offender, who naturally excites interest and sympathy, and who has many friends, is excused from serving a sentence which a man of less prominence and fewer friends would have to serve, justice is discredited in the eyes of the plain people—and to undermine faith in justice is to strike at the foundation of the Republic.”

Roosevelt attacked slander and misrepresentation however powerful, and high-placed the factor that was practicing it. The *New York Herald*, one of the largest and wealthiest papers in the country, owned and edited by

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James Gordon Bennett, was found to be carrying a personal column of villanous character. At Roosevelt's order, District Attorney Harry Stimson sued James Gordon Bennett for violation of the law that prohibited circulation of obscene literature through the mails. Mr. Bennett was living at the time in Paris, and every effort was made to enable him to conduct his case from that city; even the friendship of the *Herald* was offered Mr. Roosevelt. But the law declared that the accused must appear in person to answer to a criminal charge; and the prosecution made the law apply to Mr. Bennett as it would have made it apply to an unknown defendant. Mr. Bennett eventually crossed the ocean, and was sentenced by the court to pay a fine of \$30,000. The obnoxious personal column disappeared from the *Herald*, but Roosevelt thereafter was relentlessly pursued in the columns of that paper. The other New York papers had excluded all mention of the trial save one obscure notice; in consequence, the public does not know to-day why the *Herald* under Bennett pursued the Roose-

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velt administration with such persistent, virulent opposition.

The belief has prevailed quite widely that Roosevelt was a party man, and that he was a shrewd politician. Listen to his own statement in regard to the matter, a statement he bore out more than once to the letter :

“I ask you, whatever your politics may be, to be nonpartisan when the question of honesty is involved. A certain type of big corrupt corporation cares nothing whatever for political parties when its interests are at stake; and labor unions of the same type act in the same fashion. I ask the people in their turn to pay no heed to parties when the great fundamental issues of honest and decency as against dishonesty and indecency are involved. Only let them act in the reverse way from the corporations and unions in question. When it comes to the question of a crook I will respect party feeling to just this extent: If there are two crooks, one of my party and one of another party, I will cinch the crook of my party first,

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because I feel a shade more responsible for him."

It must be evident that Roosevelt faced continually grave and critical periods in his application of the ninth commandment, and faced along with them the human tendency to indecision and nonaction. Excuses can usually be found for refusing to assume risks that carry with them certain censure and determined opposition. Roosevelt's idea of action in such instances is thus revealed:

"If the man is worth his salt he will do his duty, he will give the people the benefit of the doubt, and act in any way which their interests demand and which is not affirmatively prohibited by law, unheeding the likelihood that he himself, when the crisis is over and the danger past, will be assailed for what he has done."

In an address he delivered before the Pacific Theological Seminary in September, 1911, he appealed for honesty in public life as follows:

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“To all good citizens I make the appeal to stand for honesty in public life, and to stand for the creation of an opinion which shall demand truth and decency in the press and the magazines. Do what you can by private effort, but especially by organized effort and by pressure upon those who are your representatives, to bring about the day when the man who willfully misleads the public, and willfully lies to the public, on any question of interest to the public, shall be amenable—if possible to the law, if not, to the force of public opinion—exactly as if he were a malefactor of any other kind.”

In Roosevelt's estimation, the chief offense of the public man was theft, and that of the public writer, mendacity.

“The infamy of the creature who tries to assassinate an upright and honest public servant doing his duty,” he said once, “is no greater than the infamy of the creature who tries to assassinate an honest man's character.”

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In his judgment, the two cardinal points for voting citizens were, "Thou shalt not steal," and "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." Multitudes of men break these moral laws and escape human law because they are adroit; but in the eyes of the higher justice they are equally as culpable as their more foolish brethren who get into the penitentiary. "We can afford to differ on the currency, the tariff, and foreign policy; but we cannot afford to differ on the question of honesty if we expect our republic permanently to endure." Honesty, in itself of quite evident importance, is not enough. Public servants must have the courage and wisdom to enforce unpopular measures. Honesty is not salvation for weaklings and cowards.

Slander, perversion of truth, and dishonest manipulation of funds had small chance while Mr. Roosevelt was President. He was at all times a defender of public righteousness. "It is a good old principle to act upon in the long run," he declared, "that the most uncomfor-

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table truth is a safer traveling companion than the pleasantest falsehood." He based his attitude on an ancient and wise code, and he could not have had a better justification.

I have always felt most strongly that it was mischievous and wrong for a man to get up before a number of boys and girls and preach to them to "take no thought of things of the body," not "to regard their own interests in any way," to think of "nothing whatever but others," when they knew that he did not follow any such course of action himself.

—REALIZABLE IDEALS.

CHAPTER VIII

A STUDENT OF RELIGION

The study that interested Roosevelt most was natural history. He specialized in that study while at college, and at one time thought he would adopt natural history as a profession. John Burroughs considered Roosevelt one of the best naturalists in the country, and Burroughs had ample opportunity to observe his capacity during a tour of Yellowstone Park that the two made together in the spring of 1903. Speaking of the experience, Burroughs wrote:

“Throughout the trip I found his interest in bird life very keen, and his eye and ear remarkably quick. He usually saw the bird or heard its note as quickly as I did—and I had nothing else to think about, and had been teaching my

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eye and ear the trick of it for over fifty years. Of course his training as a big game hunter stood him in good stead, but back of that were his naturalist's instincts and his genuine love of all forms of wild life."

This "genuine love of all forms of wild life" was an index to Roosevelt's character. Much of his reverence for God, for the Bible, and for the institution of the church grew out of his intimate knowledge of the wonders of creation.

He was deeply interested also in the study of religion, its origin, history, and present effect. This interest appeared in the most unexpected places; for instance, in one of his accounts of frontier adventure, he switched suddenly from a discussion of the inefficient militia system to an explanation of the place of the various Protestant sects in the life of that time, as follows:

"The extreme individualism of the frontier, which found expression for good and for evil both in its governmental system in time of

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peace and in its military system in time of war, was also shown in religious matters. In 1799 and 1800, a great revival of religion swept over the West. Up to that time the Presbyterian had been the leading creed beyond the mountains. There were a few Episcopalians here and there, and there were Lutherans, Catholics, and adherents of the Reformed Dutch and German churches; but aside from the Presbyterians, the Methodists and Baptists were the only sects powerfully represented. The great revival of 1799 was mainly carried on by Methodists and Baptists, and under their guidance the Methodist and Baptist churches at once sprang to the front and became the most important religious forces in the frontier communities. The Presbyterian Church remained the most prominent as regards the wealth and social standing of its adherents, but the typical frontiersman who professed religion at all became a Methodist or a Baptist, adopting a creed which was intensely democratic and individualistic, which made nothing of social distinctions, which distrusted

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educated preachers, and worked under a republican form of ecclesiastical government."

Again, illustrating his really remarkable knowledge of the Bible, in an address delivered before the American Historical Association in Boston, December 27, 1912, by way of showing how historians may paint in colors that do not fade, he referred to the Old Testament as follows:

"The ruthless death scene between Jehu and Jezebel; wicked Ahab, smitten by the chance arrow, and propped in his chariot until he died at sundown; Josiah, losing his life because he would not heed the Pharaoh's solemn warning and mourned by all the singing men and all the singing women—the fates of these kings and of this king's daughter are part of the common stock of knowledge of mankind. They were petty rulers of petty principalities; yet, compared with them, mighty conquerors, who added empire to empire, Shalmaneser and Sargon, Amenhotep and Rameses, are but shadows; for the deeds and the deaths of the

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kings of Judah and Israel are written in words that, once read, cannot be forgotten.”

Roosevelt uses here, with effect, instances seldom quoted by teachers of the Bible.

He found relaxation from his numerous responsibilities in reviewing notable books. In these book reviews he expressed some of his finest thoughts. The reviews were just as remarkable as the man's personality. On one occasion he selected twelve distinctive books, and with them as a basis illustrated good and bad methods employed in the search for truth, naming the essay, “The Search for Truth in a Reverent Spirit.” This essay not only reveals Roosevelt's profound interest in religion; it also contains very valuable material concerning the place and purpose of religion in the social order. Commenting on passages in Dr. Thomas Dwight's book *Thoughts of a Catholic Anatomist* he said:

“At present we are in greater danger of suffering in things spiritual from a wrong-headed

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scientific materialism than from religious bigotry and intolerance. . . . The experience of our sister republic of France has shown us that not only scientists but politicians, professing to be radical in their liberalism, may in actual fact show a bigoted intolerance of the most extreme kind in their attacks on religion; and bigotry and intolerance are at least as objectionable when antireligious as when nominally religious. . . . The most significant feature of his book is the advance it marks in the distance which orthodoxy has traveled. He grudgingly admits the doctrine of evolution, although—quite rightly, and in true scientific spirit, by the way—he insists most strongly upon the fact that we are as yet groping in the dark as we essay to explain its causes or show its significance. He of course treats of the solar system, the law of gravitation, and the like as every other educated man now treats them. Now, all this represents a great advance. A half-century ago no recognized authority of any church would have treated an evolutionist as an orthodox man. A century ago Dr.

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Dwight would not have been permitted to print his book as orthodox if it had even contained the statement that the earth goes round the sun."

In commending Dr. Dwight's view of religion as "the gospel of duty and human service," he said:

"His view is emphatically right; and surely when the doctrine of the gospel of works is taken to mean the gospel of service to mankind, and not merely the performance of a barren ceremonial, it must command the respect and I hope the adherence of all devout men of every creed, and even of those who adhere to no creed of recognized orthodoxy."

Roosevelt writes in the same essay:

"The law of evolution is as unconditionally accepted by every serious man of science to-day as is the law of gravitation; and it is no more and no less foolish to regard one than the other as antagonistic to religion. To re-

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ject either on Biblical grounds stands on a par with insisting, on the same grounds, that geological science must reconcile itself—and astronomy as well—to a universe only six thousand years old.”

Commenting on *Science and Religion*, by Emile Boutroux, Roosevelt applauds M. Boutroux for making religion give the individual his value and treating him as an end in himself. He goes on to say:

“This philosophy is founded on a wide and sympathetic understanding of the facts of the material world, a frank acceptance of evolution and of all else that modern science has ever taught; and so those who profess it are in a position of impregnable strength when they point out that all this in no shape or way interferes with religion and with Christianity, because, as they hold, evolution in religion has merely tended to disengage it from its gross and material wrappings, and to leave unfettered the spirit which is its essence. To them, Christianity, the greatest of the religious crea-

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tions which humanity has seen, rests upon what Christ himself teaches; for, as M. Boutroux phrases it, 'the performance of duty is faith in action, faith in its highest expression, for duty gives no other reason and need give no other reason for its existence than its own incorruptible disinterestedness.' The idea thus expressed is at bottom based on the same truth to which expression is given by Mr. Taylor [Henry Osborne Taylor, in *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*] when he says, 'The love of God means not despising but honoring self; and for all Christians on earth the true love of God must show itself in doing earth's duties and living out earth's full life, and not in abandoning all for dreams, though the dreams be of heaven.' "

William De Witt Hyde's volume *From Epicurus to Christ* impressed him deeply, for he wrote after reading it:

"We must all strive to keep as our most precious heritage the liberty each to worship his God as to him seems best, and, as part of

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this liberty, freely either to exercise it or surrender it, in a greater or less degree, each according to his own beliefs and convictions, without infringing on the beliefs and convictions of others. But the professors of the varying creeds, the men who rely upon authority, and those who in different measures profess the theory of individual liberty, can and must work together, with mutual respect and with self-respect, for certain principles which lie deep at the base of every healthy social system."

Writing an article based on a recently read book, *Social Evolution*, for the *North American Review* for July, 1895, Roosevelt showed sound knowledge of the distinction between true and false religion. He included in the article a dissertation considerably longer than this chapter, explaining his reasons for distinguishing one religious belief from another, and for accepting some and rejecting others. He objects when the author commends asceticism in Christianity.

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“Such asceticism,” [he wrote] “is far more closely related to the practices of some loathsome Mohammedan dervish than to any creed which has properly developed from the pure and lofty teachings of the Four Gospels. St. Simeon Stylites is more nearly akin to a Hindoo fakir than to Phillips Brooks or Archbishop Ireland.”

One reason why Mr. Roosevelt's book reviews are among the best of his writings, is that often the thought of the author aroused him to discerning criticism or hearty approval. In the case of *Social Evolution*, in an article he contributed to the *North American Review*, July, 1895, he found the author “burdened by a certain mixture of dogmatism and superficiality, which makes him content to accept half truths and insist that they are whole truths.” However, Mr. Kidd's discussion called from Mr. Roosevelt comments that revealed a remarkable knowledge of the expansion and influence of Christianity in various parts of the world.

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“He is of course entirely right in laying the utmost stress upon the enormous part taken by Christianity in the growth of Western civilization. He would do well to remember, however, that there are other elements, than that of merely ceremonial Christianity, at work, and that such ceremonial Christianity in other races produces quite different results, as he will see at a glance, if he will recall that Abyssinia and Hayti are both Christian countries.”

He did not believe that progress depended on the fervor of the religious spirit regardless of the truth or falsity of the religion, instancing the example of Morocco where the religious spirit is much more pronounced than in any enlightened Christian country, but where the moral development has been stunted, and the national life has retrogressed. The ethical elements of a nation may be closely associated with its religious development, may develop in the very teeth of religious belief, or may develop entirely independent of religion. He

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cited the instance of the Sudan under the Mahdi to prove that religious sanctions governed the people to the utter exclusion of reason and morality. He seriously objected to the author's definition of religion as being a belief in which the interests of the individual are subordinated to the interests of the social organism in the general interest of evolution, saying that those religions which busy themselves with the future life do not have that principle at their base, nor have they anything to do with the evolution of the race on earth. Markedly ascetic religions are antagonistic to the development of the social organism, and do not tend at all to subordinate the interests of the individual to the race. In proof of his argument, Mr. Roosevelt mentioned the Shakers who separate themselves from the social order in which they live, and the ascetics, both Christians and Mohammedans. He readily acknowledged that most of the present-day faiths, Protestant and Catholic, "do very noble work for the race because they teach its individuals to subordinate their own interests to

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the interests of mankind; but it is idle to say this of every form of religious belief."

Kidd's book elicited from Mr. Roosevelt perhaps the only definition of his idea of religion he has given:

"If there is justification for any given religion, and justification for the acceptance of supernatural authority as regards this religion, then there can be no justification for the acceptance of all religions good and bad alike. There can, at the outside, be a justification for but one or two. Mr. Kidd's grouping of all religions together is offensive to every earnest believer. Moreover, in his anxiety to insist only on the irrational side of religion, he naturally tends to exalt precisely those forms of superstition which are most repugnant to reasoning beings with moral instincts, and which are most heartily condemned by believers in the loftiest religions."

He was a close and thorough student. His work on *Winning the West* filled in a little known but exceedingly important gap in Amer-

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ican history. He gathered material and wrote the book with characteristic care and honesty; consequently the volume is to-day an authority on those history-making, stirring days. He included in that work an accurate survey of the religion of the pioneers, which is practically the only reliable description we have. Speaking of the early French occupation of what are now the states of Indiana and Illinois, he pictured the priest as next to the commandant in authority. The duty of the priest was "to look after the souls of his sovereign's subjects, to baptize, marry, and bury them, to confess and absolve them, and keep them from backsliding, to say mass and to receive the salary due him for celebrating divine service; but, though his personal influence was of course very great, he had no temporal authority, and could not order his people either to fight or to work."

His picture of the average French settler showed him as devoted to religious observance:

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"The average inhabitant, though often loose in his morals, was very religious. He was superstitious also, for he firmly believed in omens, charms, and witchcraft, and when worked upon by his dread of the unseen and the unknown, he sometimes did terrible deeds. . . . Under ordinary circumstances he was a good-humored, kindly man, always polite—his manners offering an agreeable contrast to those of some of our own frontiersmen—with a ready smile and laugh, and ever eager to join in any merrymaking.

"On Sundays and fast days he was summoned to the little parish church by the tolling of the old bell in the small wooden belfrey. The church was a rude oblong building, the walls made out of peeled logs, thrust upright in the ground, chinked with moss and coated with clay or cement. Thither went every man, clad in a capote or blanket coat, a bright silk handkerchief knotted around his head, and his feet shod with moccasins or strong rawhide sandals. If young, he walked or rode a shaggy pony; if older, he drove his creaking, spring-

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less wooden cart, untired and unironed, in which the family sat on stools."

Who cannot see, as he reads that realistic description, the pioneer Frenchman, agreeable of demeanor, religious of soul, sedately, with his wife and children, pursuing his way through clearing or virgin forest to church? Mr. Roosevelt made an excellent historian for he combined honest respect for facts with a vivid and colorful imagination.

In the same simple and forceful manner, he pictured the religious festival of the Creek Indians, the Green Corn Dance. The following passage reveals his amazing grasp of detail:

"They drank out of conch-shells the Black Drink, a bitter beverage brewed from the crushed leaves of a small shrub. On the third day the high priest or fire-maker, the man who sat in the white seat, clad in a snowy tunic and moccasins, kindled the holy fire, fanning it into flames with the unsullied wing of a swan, and burning therein offerings of the first-fruits of

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the year. Dance followed dance. The beloved men and beloved women, the priest and priestesses, danced in three rings, singing the solemn song of which the words were never uttered at any other time; and at the end the warriors in their wild war-gear, with white-plume head-dresses, took part, and also, the women and girls, decked in their best, with earrings and armlets, and terrapin shells filled with pebbles fastened to the outside of their legs. They kept time with foot and voice; the men in deep tones, with short accents, the women in a shrill falsetto; while the clay drums, with heads of taut deer-hide, were beaten, the whistles blown, and the gourds and calabashes rattled, until the air resounded with deafening noise."

A writer could not thus minutely have described this religious festival who had not studied descriptions of it with care, and himself lived over again the scene.

In analyzing the rugged pioneer character, he discovered that the dominating strain was

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the Presbyterian Irish, known as the Scotch Irish.

“Full credit,” [he wrote] “has been awarded the Roundhead and the Cavalier for their leadership in our history; nor have we been altogether blind to the deeds of the Hollander and the Huguenot; but it is doubtful if we have wholly realized the importance of the part played by that stern and virile people, the Irish, whose preachers taught the creed of Knox and Calvin. These Irish representatives of the Covenanters were in the West almost what the Puritans were in the Northeast, and more than the Cavaliers were in the South. . . . They were the Protestants of the Protestants; they detested and despised the Catholics, whom their ancestors had conquered, and they regarded the Episcopalians by whom they themselves had been oppressed, with a more sullen, but scarcely less intense hatred.”

These people were fitted from the start to be Americans, he said, “because, as kinsfolk of

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the covenanters, it was a religious duty with them to interpret their own Bibles, and by divine right elect their own clergy."

He spoke of the Methodists who early penetrated the western wilderness as persons of "fiery earnestness and zeal" who won as converts many an "ignorant and fearless backwoods fighter."

Writing in evident admiration of the backwoods Presbyterian preacher, he spoke of him as "hard-featured, earnest, zealous, probably bigoted and narrow-minded, but nevertheless a great power for good in the community. . . . He followed close behind the first settlers, and shared their toil and dangers; they tilled their fields rifle in hand and fought the Indian valorously. They felt that they were dispossessing the Canaanites, and were thus working the Lord's will in preparing the land for a race which they believed was more truly his chosen people than was that nation which Joshua led over the Jordon. They exhorted no less earnestly in the bare meeting-houses on Sunday, because their hands were roughened with guid-

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ing the plough and wielding the axe on week-days; for they did not believe that being called to preach the word of God absolved them from earning their living by the sweat of their brows."

He noted that the first church started in the dark and bloody ground of Kentucky was the Presbyterian, and made a study of its management.

"The backwoods Presbyterians managed their church affairs much as they did their civil government; each congregation appointing a committee to choose ground, to build a meeting-house, to collect the minister's salary, and to pay all charges, by taxing the members proportionately for the same, the committee being required to turn in a full account, and receive instructions, at a general session or meeting held twice every year."

In the chapter on "War and Social Values," included in his book, *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, based on articles written for the

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Metropolitan Magazine, and one written for the *Wheeler Syndicate*, he drew upon his knowledge of the history of the development of the Christian faiths to prove that different wars have entirely different social values.

“During the thousand years that included the careers of the Frankish soldier and the Polish King, the Christians of Asia and Africa proved unable to wage successful war with the Moslem conquerors; and in consequence Christianity practically vanished from the two continents; and to-day nobody can find in them any “social values,” whatever, in the sense in which we use the word, so far as the sphere of Mohammedan influence and the decaying native Christian churches are concerned. There are such “social values” to-day in Europe, America and Australia only because during those thousand years the Christians of Europe possessed the warlike power to do what the Christians of Asia and Africa had failed to do—that is, to beat back the Moslem invader.”

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In the same volume, he argued that the greatest gains have been made by the human race by means of successful wars for righteousness:

“Christianity is not the creed of Asia and Africa at this moment solely because the seventh century Christians of Asia and Africa, in addition to being rent asunder among themselves by bitter sectarian animosities—*and sectarian intolerance and animosity stand for most that is evil in Christianity*—had trained themselves not to fight, whereas the Moslems were trained to fight. Christianity was saved in Europe solely because the peoples of Europe fought. If the peoples of Europe in the seventh and eighth centuries, and on up to, and including, the seventeenth century, had not possessed a military equality with, and gradually a growing superiority over, the Mohammedans who invaded Europe, Europe would at this moment be Mohammedan, and the Christian religion would be exterminated.

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“Wherever the Mohammedans have had complete sway, wherever the Christians have been unable to resist them by the sword, Christianity has ultimately disappeared. From the hammer of Charles Martel, to the sword of Sobieski, Christianity owed its safety in Europe to the fact that it was able to show that it could and would fight as well as the Mohammedan aggressor.”

This condition, we might observe in passing, has been made painfully evident in the martyred country of Armenia.

It was a far call from an intimate analysis of the activities of the rude Presbyterians of the backwoods to a study of the causes that saved Europe to Christianity. The contrast serves to illustrate the fertile and widely informed Roosevelt mind.

Roosevelt traveled to many lands and visited many out-of-the-way localities. Wherever he was, he had a keen eye for existing religious conditions. Thus he studied missions in Africa; and in unfrequented parts of Brazil,

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not only familiarized himself with the religion of the natives, but advocated methods whereby churches might be built and a clergy maintained.

On his return from his hunting expedition to Africa, conducted under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institute, he passed through various European countries. On the way he observed the effect on some of the notable people he met of their religious belief. Discussing the religion of Count Apponyi, a Hungarian nobleman, he found him a liberal in politics, but devoutly attached to the traditional tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. Yet he was the close friend of several equally devoted Protestants including the younger Kossuth. The ex-Prime Minister of Hungary, he discovered, was a student of Calvinism and followed that harsh teacher with an eagerness not found among Calvinists in the United States. Mr. Roosevelt took pleasure in observing that the ex-Prime Minister's ancestors and his own had sat together in the Synod of Dort. After the lapse of three centuries, he, the Prime Min-

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ister, continued to uphold the doctrines laid down at that time.

Particularly interesting was his portrayal of the Kaiser, William the Second. The two agreed perfectly on matters of moral conduct. But when it came to theology, the Kaiser was far too dogmatic to suit Mr. Roosevelt.

In his appeal for preparedness for war as the sole guaranty for peace, he wielded passages from the Bible with convincing effect. Who but a student of the Sacred Record would have known that the first six verses of the thirty-third chapter of Ezekiel are a terrific denunciation of those extreme pacifists who would place their country at the mercy of a powerful military empire. He commended those verses, as he expressed it, in a chapter on "Preparedness against War" in his book *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, "To the prayerful consideration of all those in high office, whether Presidents, Secretaries of State, or leaders of the Senate and the House at Washington; and to all male and female college presidents, clergymen, editors and pub-

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licists of pacifist tendencies.” These are the verses:

1. Again the word of the Lord came unto me, saying,

2. Son of man, speak to the children of thy people, and say unto them, When I bring the sword upon a land, if the people of the land take a man of their coasts, and set him for the watchman;

3. If when he seeth the sword come upon the land, he blow the trumpet, and warn the people;

4. Then whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet, and taketh not warning; if the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be upon his own head.

5. He heard the sound of the trumpet, and took not warning; his blood shall be upon him. But he that taketh warning shall deliver his soul.

6. But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned; if the sword come, and take any

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person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand.

We conclude this chapter by quoting the last paragraph in his essay "The Search for Truth in a Reverent Spirit," for it proves the breadth of his mind and the extent of his vision.

"We must stand," [he says], "equally against tyranny and against irreverence in all things of the spirit, with the firm conviction that we can all work together for a higher social and individual life if only, whatever form of creed we profess, we make the doing of duty and the love of our fellow-men two of the prime articles in our universal faith. To those who deny the ethical obligation implied in such a faith we who acknowledge the obligation are aliens; and we are brothers to all those who do acknowledge it, whatever their creed or system of philosophy."

Nothing else takes the place or can take the place of family life; and family life cannot be really happy unless it is based on duty, based on recognition of the great underlying laws of religion and morality; of the great underlying laws of civilization; the laws which, if broken, mean the dissolution of civilization.

—THE HOME AND THE CHILD.

CHAPTER IX

THE SANCTUARY OF HOME

WHEN ROOSEVELT was President, he made a certain long tour into the West. Among the memories of that journey that he took much pleasure in recalling was one of a little prairie town in Kansas, where on a certain Sunday the children of the village came to his car to take him to church. After the people had been seated in the church building, two little girls who had not been able to find seats took their station near his pew. He invited them in with him, and the three sang together from the same hymn book, read the responses, and joined in the Lord's prayer.

John Burroughs, when traveling with the President in 1903, told of an instance which happened while the Presidential train was crossing a Dakota prairie. At one place the track

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passed near a small brown schoolhouse. As the train came along, Mr. Roosevelt, looking ahead through the window, saw the teacher and children waiting in a group eager for a glimpse of the President. Mr. Roosevelt was at lunch, but taking his napkin he hurried to the platform and waved to the children. When he came back he said, "Those children wanted to see the President of the United States, and I could not disappoint them. They may never have another chance. What a deep impression such things make when we are young."

Jacob Riis, who was closely associated with Mr. Roosevelt while he was Police Commissioner of New York City and Governor of the State of New York, relates incidents that came under his notice showing his affection for children. One day when he was Governor, Roosevelt had gone down to Greenport to make a speech. He was standing on the platform of his car as the train was about to leave, shaking hands with the swarms of school children that crowded around. Suddenly he spied a forlorn little girl dressed in well-worn clothing.

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She was on the outskirts of the crowd, and showed by the expression of despair on her face that she had given up hope of shaking hands with the Governor. In a moment he had bounded down from the platform. Pushing through the surging tide of youngsters, he reached the amazed child and seizing her hand gave it a real Roosevelt shake.

During his long term of public service, from the time he was elected member of the New York legislature in 1881 until he retired from the Presidency in 1909, he was a friend of women and children. He rendered continual and valuable assistance to Jacob Riis in Riis's fight with the slum. As President, he saw through Congress a bill forbidding child labor in the District of Columbia.

A matter about which he had determined notions was the vicious double standard of morals. In his estimation, the law was badly at fault when it freed the man and punished the woman. During his term as Police Commissioner, he gave strict orders that men and women detected in sex irregularities should be

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treated precisely alike, not only because it was right, but because he believed it was the best way to correct the social evil. He considered divorce an unmitigated wrong, an insidious danger to the nation. So strongly did he feel the sacredness of the marriage relation that when Maxim Gorky was in this country, traveling with a woman not his legal wife, he refused to entertain him at the White House.

When the Russian Grand Duke Boris was traveling in the United States, he led a notoriously scandalous life. The Russian ambassador asked permission of Mr. Roosevelt to bring the Grand Duke for a visit to Sagamore Hill. Mr. Roosevelt permitted the ambassador to bring his friend, but both he and Mrs. Roosevelt agreed that Mrs. Roosevelt should be absent on the occasion of the visit, for both considered the presence in their home of a man of the corrupt character of the Grand Duke an insult.

The person above all others whom he heartily commended was the mother who had borne and brought up a large family of children.

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The person above all others whom he cordially detested was the father of that family who allowed his wife to carry the burden of the children's upbringing and training while he himself had hardly lifted a finger to help. Commenting on the mutual responsibility of husband and wife once, before a group of students, he said:

"The first place where I desire to see any man or woman realize his or her ideals is in connection with those most intimately thrown with him or her. The very first place in which it is necessary that ideals should be realized is in the man's own home. It is so elementary that it seems hardly necessary to say that everything else in our civilization rests upon the home; that all public achievement rests upon private character; that the state cannot go on onward and upward, that the nation cannot make progress, unless the average individual is of the right type, unless the average American is a pretty decent fellow. It will not be possible, otherwise, for the nation to

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rise. Absolutely nothing is gained by filling a man with vague aspirations for the betterment of his kind if you have not filled him first of all with the desire to do decently by those members of mankind with whom he passes most of his life."

Back of a strong state must lie the "strong and tender virtues of a family life based on the love of the one man for the one woman, and on their joyous and fearless acceptance of their common obligation to the children that are theirs." The happily married man enjoys the greatest privilege and is under an equally great responsibility. There is no alternative for a happy and congenial marriage. The man's first duty is to those dependent on him for support. The husband must feel, and act as though he felt, that there is no other human being to whom he owes as much as he does to the woman who, in suffering, has borne his children and who under the strictest self-denial, reared them. And, on the other hand, the wife has no business to shirk the respon-

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sibility of motherhood, for her normal function is mother and homemaker. The facts of nature cannot be reversed without grave danger to the state. Childless marriages or marriages which result in one or two offspring eventually mean race suicide. But the doctrine of large families by no means justifies large numbers of undernourished and ill-trained children. "The partnership (marriage) should be one of equal rights, one of love, of self-respect and unselfishness, above all a partnership for the performance of the most vitally important of all duties. The performance of duty, and not an indulgence in vapid ease and vapid pleasure, is all that makes life worth while."

His own home life corresponded to the ideal he had established for others. He was happiest when alone with his wife and children. He counted those days best spent when he could go camping with his sons or sit quietly reading in their home with Mrs. Roosevelt.

The day he was elected to a second term as President, before he knew that the election had

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gone favorably, he wrote to his sister, Mrs. Douglas Robinson:

“As I mounted the White House steps, Edith came to meet me at the door, and I suddenly realized that, after all, no matter what the outcome of the election should prove to be, my *happiness* was assured, even though my ambition to have the seal of approval put upon my administration might not be gratified—for my life with Edith and my children constitutes my *happiness*.”

And when the doubt and tension were over, while expressing satisfaction that the election had been favorable, he declared that, after all, the election had not been the most important thing. He placed the happiness he enjoyed in the family relation above material success at the polls.

July 23, 1914, William Barnes, leader of the Republican organization in the state of New York, brought a suit for libel against Mr. Roosevelt, who had publicly charged him with having abetted Tammany Hall and other

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crooked interests. Mr. Roosevelt at once accepted the challenge, restated his position more emphatically than before, and, appearing in court in due season, conducted his case himself with skill and unanswerable argument. After ten days on the stand, when every statement and action of his thirty years of public activity had been thoroughly examined, he was triumphantly vindicated. The trial over, he remarked to a friend that the feature of the trial that meant the most was the fact that not a single item of evidence had been produced that he would be unwilling to have his descendants read.

Among the phrases originated by him and which appealed to the imagination of the country was "race suicide." In a letter to Mrs. John Van Vorst commending her published article "The Woman Who Toils" he wrote:

"The man or woman who deliberately avoids marriage and has a heart so cold as to know no passion and a brain so shallow and selfish as to dislike having children, is in effect a crim-

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inal against the race, and should be an object of contemptuous abhorrence to all healthy people."

He foresaw the inevitable result of the rapidly increasing number of childless marriages, namely, a weakened state.

Speaking of his home, he said, "I have had the happiest home life of any man I ever knew." His home was a real home, and he frequently stated that to it he owed much of his success. While living at the White House, however occupied by pressing responsibilities of state, without fail he devoted two hours every afternoon to his family, spending the time with his children or riding with Mrs. Roosevelt.

In one of his tours of the country while President, he met Governor John H. Mickey of Nebraska. He asked the Governor a number of questions about his State, and then ended up with, "How many children have you, Governor?"

"Nine," replied the Governor, with pride.

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"You are a better man than I am," laughed the President. "I have had only six."

He was eager that his children should learn the principles of good citizenship. When absent from home he wrote regularly letters that were models of interest and affection. Even before his children could read he sent them pictures illustrating his travels and hunting exploits. The letters sometimes contained confidences, sometimes held up an ideal, sometimes urged books to read. They revealed that he was constantly alert to both the responsibilities and the joys of fatherhood.

We enjoy portraying Roosevelt, hardly more than a boy, in the New York legislature, day after day calling for the impeachment of the influential and corrupt Judge Westbrook; as Police Commissioner, fighting to make New York a law-abiding city; as commander of the Rough Riders leading his men on to the battle of San Juan Hill; as President placing his country at the head of the great nations. But in no one of those exalted stations will he be remembered more affectionately than he will

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be for his devotion to his home. Home to him was the blessed refuge to which he could retire from the surge and storm of public life. He loved no place on earth as he did Sagamore Hill. He purchased the property in August, 1880. Shortly after his second marriage he took his wife there. It was here that his children learned from their naturalist father to know and love many forms of wild life, and to find health and joy in the open. In one period of twenty-four hours, Colonel Roosevelt identified forty-two varieties of birds in the neighborhood of the house.

The buildings stand by themselves at the summit of a hill, and command a noble prospect of field and woodland, Long Island Sound, and the distant Connecticut shore. Of course Mr. Roosevelt loved the place. In his youth he had planned to become a naturalist, and while later developments induced him to adopt a political career, he steadfastly retained his early love of the wild life of nature. At Sagamore Hill he came in close contact with the God of created things, the sunsets across the

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water, the changing seasons, seed time, and harvest, land and water fowl. He had furnished the house with such trophies as might be expected of a hunter who had killed about every species of big game on both hemispheres. There were collections of various tokens from friends, including bronzes, portraits, weapons, and paintings. On the library shelves were books of hunting, history, poetry, drama, fiction, and philosophy. But the best things in that home, as he liked to say, were not trophies or books, but children. Few men in any age have been more greatly honored, but no office he ever held gave him the unalloyed satisfaction that came from having a house full of children.

How proud he was of his four sons who were with the American Expeditionary Forces in France! The crowning ambition of his life had been to go himself, but he found solace in reflecting on the valorous achievements of his boys in the fighting zone. As reports of their gallantry began to come back, he took more and more pride in their exploits. Speak-

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ing before a great crowd at St. Louis, he said with a smile:

“I met Peter Dunne the other day. You all know Peter Dunne—Mr. Dooley. He said: ‘Colonel, you want to watch out. First thing you know your boys ’ll be putting the name of Roosevelt on the map.’ ”

He was too familiar with the peril of fighting to feel confident that all four would return. One July morning, 1918, news came to Sagamore Hill that Quentin had been killed while flying over the German lines northeast of Château-Thierry. Then it was that the father gave a newspaper correspondent that memorable message for the country, expressing the satisfaction of Quentin’s parents that the son had been killed in action in the performance of duty. The day following, Colonel Roosevelt fulfilled an engagement to speak at a Republican convention at Saratoga. “It is my duty to go,” he declared in response to a protest.

To him life was the great adventure, and the

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worst fear of all was the fear of living. The only success worth having was the success which came from pursuit of right ideals. To his way of thinking, those men and women were happiest who were devoted to the intimate and homely things, the fathers and mothers of the race who did not avoid the sorrow and anxiety of parenthood, and who finally discovered that the best days of all were those spent in building a happy home.

*We cannot continue as a Republic,
we cannot rise to any true level of
greatness, unless that greatness is
based upon and conditioned by a high
and brave type of spiritual life.*

—CONDUCT TEST OF BELIEF.

CHAPTER X

A GREATER, BETTER AMERICA

"Americanism is a question of spirit, conviction, and purpose, not of creed or birthplace," said Roosevelt.

Americanism amounted to a religion with him. To find parallels for his love of country, it would be necessary to consult the history of the wars that succeeded the Protestant Reformation, where Protestant and Catholic alike stood for his faith with heroic disregard of the terrors of the persecutor.

Roosevelt came naturally by this devotion to America. He had had familiar experiences with municipal, state, and national government. Home training, education, and reading, as they increased his knowledge, opened up wider and wider opportunities of service. From college days on, he had continually

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journeyed about the country; in later life, duty summoned him to the great settled centers; but as young man and dreamer of dreams he sought out the solitudes by choice and spent weeks and months alone or with guides in the primitive forests of Maine, the buttes of Dakota, the mountain fastnesses of the West. He said once that it was the term he spent ranching in the Bad Lands of Dakota that made him President; for there he met the cowboys who formed the nucleus of his famous Rough Rider Regiment; it was the regiment that made him Governor of New York, the position from which he stepped into the White House. He might have added that it was the days and nights he lived alone in the open in God's country in the magnificent American solitudes which induced that love of native land that burned with brighter and brighter luster. For a time he wore the uniform of an American soldier and fought for his country in Cuba. Four of his sons served in General Pershing's army in France. Mindful of these associations, which for richness

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and variety come into the lives of few men, it is not surprising that Americanism to him was a religion.

Loyalty to America, right or wrong, was back of all he said and did. Addresses and writings constantly express devotion to the land of his birth, and reveal ways and means of realizing American ideals. He fought for his country with skill and courage among the San Juan Hills. But the battle of San Juan Hill was by no means his greatest battle. With discernment and foresight he singled out men who were disturbing the Nation's peace, denounced them and punished them. He did not fear the Benedict Arnolds as much as those who practiced financial dishonesty but were adroit enough to retain the reputation of honest citizen, or others who preached the doctrine of anarchy but shrewdly kept within the pale of law. As much as he feared the harm these hypocrites might do the Nation, he feared the iniquity of their example more. In the same group he placed conscienceless stock speculators, swindling trust magnates, de-

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bauched judges, corrupt legislators, reckless labor agitators, and selfish merchants and manufacturers. In his estimation, all were dangerous enemies of the Republic and seriously imperiled its future. Another group of men which threatened the national security was the get-rich-quick people, composed of men insensible to duty, regardless of principle, actuated solely by the desire to get together a vast amount of money. If such a person founded a college or endowed a church or library, he was the more dangerous because the philanthropic deed blinded good people to his villany and enabled him to practice it more maliciously.

Roosevelt was too close a student of world history not to understand the evil that gathers about the term "patriotism." He applied Dr. Johnson's definition, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," to some of his fellow countrymen who were continually prating of obligation to country and then denying their words by their deeds, men who used the guise of reform to cloak selfish designs on the unsus-

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pecting public, who shouted "Long live America!" and waved the flag with their left hand while with their right hand they robbed the people. He appealed for a broad Americanism that subordinated local policies, literature, art, the village or belfry type, to nation-wide interests.

The only geographical boundaries to his Americanism were those that bounded the United States and her possessions.

Early in his political career he emphasized the need of thoroughly Americanizing newcomers. The hyphenated terms "Irish-American," "German-American," "American-Jew" should cease to apply. Whatever the ancestry, once in this country the person ought to think of himself only as an American. No one appreciated the services rendered the Republic by men and women of foreign birth more than Colonel Roosevelt. He understood, too, the eagerness of many aliens to become Americans in fact. Before, during, and following the World War, he declared that the majority of the Germans in America endorsed

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sound Americanism, a conviction that the contacts he made with German audiences in the Middle West strengthened. He felt convinced that courage and horse sense applied to the German problem would have prevented much of the misunderstanding and bitter feeling that prevailed.

He was much interested in making the English language, instead of the German, the language used in the Lutheran Church in this country.

"If the church does not do this," [he said once to his friend John J. Leary, Jr., a prominent member of the Roosevelt Newspaper Cabinet,] "the Lutheran Church, powerful as it now is, must go the way of the Dutch Reformed Church, to which I have the honor to belong. Had it changed to English it would in all probability be one of the leading churches, in New York at least. But it stuck to Dutch too long; the younger people drifted away, until, too late, English was made the church language. I would very much regret a like fate

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for the Lutheran Church. I want it to continue as it is to-day, a permanent and powerful factor in American life."

His program of Americanism included a proper attitude toward the relation of church and state. No American is justified, he thought, in carrying religious prejudice into politics. We must stand unalterably against division of public funds or appropriation of money for sectarian purposes, against any recognition whatsoever by the state of state-aided parochial schools. But discrimination must be made against no man on account of his creed. All citizens—Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and Gentiles—must have their rights guaranteed them. Trustees, superintendents, teachers, pupils must be treated without any reference to the creed they profess. When men are to be voted into responsible public office, the question should not be asked, "What is his creed?" but, "Is he a good American?" He repudiated the American Protective Association, because it proscribed

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Catholics politically and socially. He said A. P. A. members were "utterly un-American."

He made this appeal in the *Forum* for April, 1894, for 100 per cent Americanism:

"After passing through the crucible of naturalization, we are no longer Germans, we are Americans. Our attachment to America cannot be measured by the length of our residence here. We are Americans from the moment we touch the American shore until we are laid in American graves. We will fight for America whenever necessary. America, first, last, and all the time. America against Germany! America against the world! America right or wrong! Always America. We are Americans."

Now it was probably his intense loyalty to American ideals that during the war, when feeling was at fever heat, induced him to assume the attitude he did against the policies of the Administration. Theodore Roosevelt felt strongly, spoke vigorously as he felt, and

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acted with tremendous explosive energy. These characteristics developed as he grew older, and in later years he made statements he would have modified as a younger man. As a lover of America, a close observer of current events, and with a mind diametrically opposed to the Wilson mind which wished to continue neutrality after the *Lusitania* was sunk by German submarines off the Point of Kinsale, Ireland, May 7, 1915, he entered on a campaign for immediate declaration of war. He was convinced that the United States was recalcitrant to its duty in refusing to fight. He used language expressing his feeling about the Administration which did not help his case, and which some of his friends thought unworthy of him. Theodore Roosevelt freely acknowledged his faults. In fact, he said once that he was not a great man, and that what he had done, he had achieved through hard work, the will of the people, and the grace of God. Many of his well-wishers regret the break with William H. Taft, and the immoderate language he employed while campaigning for the

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immediate entry of the United States into the war.

How idle it is for a biographer to claim faultless character for his subject. Washington was profane at times and lacked sympathy with popular government. Lincoln allowed himself the freedom of speech of his Western training, and erred disastrously in his choice of generals for the army of the Potomac. It is relatively impossible for any person who holds a position of sufficient responsibility to merit being remembered by succeeding generations to avoid making mistakes, some of them serious. Saying that Roosevelt was entirely sincere in his attitude does not excuse the savage attacks. It was his nature. He could not change that. His character was many-sided. If his intense belief in a militant America led him into indiscreet speeches, that belief also made him probably the best personification of Americanism America has had in recent years.

Those who entertain the idea that Mr. Roosevelt felt a personal resentment toward

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Mr. Taft and Mr. Wilson ought to dismiss it. He opposed their policies and not their personalities. There was no time, whether he was in or out of office, when his eagerness to see America progress along the higher levels proposed by Lincoln did not supersede his thought of what his fellow citizens might say of his attitude. When he came back from his African hunting trip in June, 1910, he found the Republican party divided and a bitter contest raging between the younger men who were endeavoring to forward his policies, and the Old Guard. He perceived more and more clearly that the necessary reforms for which he had contended so vigorously all his life were failing for lack of determined support on the part of the chief executive, Mr. Taft. Influential men urged him to protest. For two months Roosevelt remained silent while he carefully studied the situation. He then entered on a campaign against the Taft administration, actuated not by personal resentment, but by the conviction that he might yet save the day for that Higher Americanism which

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meant vastly more to him than Mr. Taft's success or his own success. Many have questioned the wisdom of his methods; no one who knew him questioned for a moment his sincerity.

He felt, with equal intensity, that the Wilson philosophy of "Watchful Waiting" in Mexico, and in the matter of the war in Europe, seriously imperiled the honor of America. Never in his life had he wittingly allowed a policy that to him was dangerous to the good name of the nation to prevail without doing what he could to destroy it. So with voice and pen he endeavored without ceasing to rouse the country to the iniquity of the Wilson program. If he spoke and wrote with bitter, sometimes unjust, invective, he rose to such heights of intense Americanism as possibly no American had ever risen. Those war years were years when men felt deeply and spoke dramatically and with full feeling. History will show that the Roosevelt crusade, warlike and crushing as it was, did as much as any other single factor to send America into the fight with lofty ideals and

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determination to win, let the cost be what it might. When, April 2, 1917, President Wilson asked Congress to declare war against Germany, Roosevelt congratulated him, calling his message "A great state paper which will rank in history with the great state papers of which Americans in future years will be proud."

In his campaign for immediate entry into the Great War, like the rugged patriot prophets of old, he called the offenders to account for shortsightedness, neglect and timidity. He freely used texts of Scripture to point his arguments, and in the name of the Almighty called the people, like Peter the Hermit, to participate in a holy crusade which should avenge Belgium, the Lusitania victims, and succor weak nations ridden ruthlessly down by the German war machine.

"Unless we are thoroughgoing Americans," [he said] "and unless our patriotism is part of the very fiber of our being we can neither serve God nor take our own part. . . . We are

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the citizens of a mighty Republic consecrated to the service of God above, through the service of man on this earth. We are the heirs of a great heritage bequeathed to us by statesmen who saw with the eyes of the seer and the prophet. We must not prove false to the memories of the nation's past. . . . Let us care, as is right, for the things of the body; but let us show that we care even more for the things of the soul. . . . Let us keep untarnished, unstained, the honor of the flag our fathers bore aloft in the teeth of the wildest storm, the flag that shall float above the solid files of a united people, a people sworn to the great cause of liberty and of justice, for themselves, and for all the sons and daughters of men."

He enjoyed using the phrase in this connection, "Fear God and take your Own Part," for it exactly described his own valiant spirit. A nation must be able to sacrifice itself, but it must also be able to defend itself when attacked, and be powerful enough to protect

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weak peoples from aggressive tyranny. A nation should have ideals of a high character; it should also have a strong arm and a mailed fist. "It must possess those high and stern qualities of soul which will enable it to conquer softness and weakness and timidity, and train itself to subordinate momentary pleasure, momentary profit, momentary safety to the larger future." We must not only preach the lofty soul and fighting will, we must translate preaching into action.

With all his fighting qualities, he advocated war for America only when she "trailed her honor in the dust" by remaining at peace. He contended as valiantly for peace (witness his marvelous achievement in persuading Russia and Japan to conclude peace at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1905) when peace best served the larger end. "I advocate preparation for war in order to avert war," he said. "And I should never advocate war unless it were the only alternative to dishonor."

He suspected the people who lived entirely on the material plane; who shout for the pop-

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ular candidate, because when elected he will confer an office on them; who measure the value of a man by his wealth; "who are unable to appreciate any quality that is not a mercantile quality; who do not understand that a poet may do far more for his country than the owner of a nail factory; who do not realize that no amount of commercial prosperity can supply the lack of heroic virtues, or can in itself solve the terrible social problems which all the civilized world is now facing. The mere materialist is, above all things, shortsighted."

Nations, like individuals, stand before the judgment bar. That is a stern but just rule that a nation shall survive only which keeps the fighting edge. The people that has lost the virile virtues will sink to a position of ignoble servitude, and will richly deserve its fate.

In his character study of General Grant, he said:

"It is character that counts in a nation as in a man. It is a good thing to have a keen, fine, intellectual development in a nation, to pro-

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duce orators, artists, successful business men; but it is an infinitely greater thing to have those solid qualities which we group together under the name of character, sobriety, steadfastness, the sense of obligation toward one's neighbor and one's God, hard common sense, and, combined with it, the lift of generous enthusiasm toward whatever is right."

He well knew the evils that threatened to undermine the structure erected by the pioneers and preservers of American liberty. The Greater America was his cause; true national greatness was the goal at which he aimed. And we of this generation must acknowledge that intense and fervid Americanism never had a more able advocate.

He marked an epoch in the development of this democracy. He interpreted America to multitudes as it had never been interpreted before, and introduced to the American people a New Nationalism, delivering them, verily, from the sordid grubbing for gain, the soft easy pursuit of vacuous pleasure, the supine in-

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difference to the rights of down-trodden peoples which had marked the period that followed the Civil War. He preached a patriotism that included the stern qualities of fighting men, and proved that any other kind was not only unworthy but disastrous. He was right. This nation will survive, and will only deserve to survive, in proportion as it pursues righteousness as Roosevelt pursued it—with high moral endeavor, but with a sword tempered for defense.

He was essentially a national man, with a national mind and spirit. All the talents he had, he brought and laid on the altar of American Idealism. He would willingly have given his life for his faith in America. After the illness came on him of which he eventually died, and while he lay critically sick in the hospital, he said to his sister, Mrs. Douglas Robinson, "I only regret that I could not have died as Quentin did."

Spiritually and ethically we must strive to bring about clean living and right thinking. We appreciate that the things of the body are important; but we appreciate also that the things of the soul are immeasurably more important. The foundation stone of national life is, and must ever be, the high individual character of the average citizen.

—GOOD AND EVIL TENDENCIES.

CHAPTER XI

ROOSEVELT THE PREACHER

People do not generally think of Roosevelt as a preacher. They think of him as a man of action, the best exponent of his own exposition of the strenuous life. He was, however, the foremost preacher of his time. His preaching did not follow the usual form of pulpit utterance. He left arguments for creed and denomination to the ministers, a class of persons, by the way, he profoundly respected. But in his own peculiar and thoroughgoing fashion he was forever preaching. A convincing evidence of his deeply religious trend was the frequency with which he seized on Bible texts to introduce an address on an article, or to point an idea, and the many times his addresses developed into homilies.

He was constantly exhorting the American

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people, and his sermonic addresses far outnumber the lecture type. As a preacher, he deserves a place alongside Chrysostom, Peter the Hermit, Fénelon, Martin Luther, John Wesley, and Whitefield. These men with moving eloquence urged men to leave behind them corrupt living and selfish striving, and to fear God, love their neighbors, and work honestly—which are precisely the doctrines Roosevelt preached. None of the great preachers ever had the following he had. None raised higher the standards of moral excellence. This was so, perhaps, because none of them had such opportunities. From the time Roosevelt became Police Commissioner of New York, in May, 1895, until he retired from the Presidency in March, 1909, the influence exerted by him on the Nation was tremendous. It was probably greater than that exerted by any other single American.

Bill Sewall, guide and longtime friend, said, speaking from intimate association with Roosevelt in the Northern woods and on the Dakota cattle ranges, "Roosevelt was always thinkin'

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of makin' the world better instead of worse."

The country was different in 1909 than in 1895, and to Roosevelt should go much credit for making it better. He was a moral enthusiast. One of the finest things he ever said, finer than any passage in the ninth chapter of his autobiography, which he considered his best literary work, he said in connection with moral leadership:

"In order to succeed, we need leaders of inspired idealism, leaders to whom are granted great visions; who dream greatly and strive to make their dreams come true; who can kindle the people with the fire from their own burning souls. The leader for the time being, whoever he may be, is but an instrument to be used until broken and then to be cast aside; and if he is worth his salt, he will care no more when he is broken than a soldier cares when he is sent where his life is forfeit in order that the victory may be won. In the long fight for righteousness, the watchword for all of us is, Spend and be spent. It is of little

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matter whether any one man fails or succeeds; but the cause shall not fail, for it is the cause of mankind."

Of his preaching he wrote:

"I have always had a horror of words that are not translated into deeds, of speech that does not result in action—in other words, I believe in realizable ideals and in realizing them, in preaching what can be practiced and then practicing it."

What were some of the subjects he first preached about and then translated into action? Conservation of the Nation's natural resources; equal treatment of every man without reference to color, religion, or station; the upbuilding of the republic as a moral world-force; protection and influence of the home; honesty and fearlessness in high places; uncompromising punishment of seducers and betrayers of the people; the necessity of supporting religious institutions; education that prepares young men and women for useful citi-

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zenship; the gospel of joy in work; well-rounded character; and ability to strike when necessary, and to strike hard.

He once spoke before the undergraduates of Harvard University on "Applied Ethics." At that time, he emphasized the need of applied preaching.

"In the course of my life I have had to deliver a good many lay sermons—my enemies being divided as to whether the sentiments that I utter are incitements to revolution or platitudes, and usually compromising by saying that they are both—I have had to deliver a good many sermons, and the more often I have had either to speak, or to listen to others speak, the more clearly and deeply I realize that it is not only no good to preach, or to listen to, a sermon which is not put into practical effect, but that it is a positive damage. The man who utters moral sentiments to which he does not try to live up, and the other man who listens and applauds the utterance of those sentiments and yet himself does not

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try to live up to them—both those men not only gain no good from what they have said and listened to, but have done themselves positive harm, because they have weakened just a little the spring of conscience within them.

“I believe to the last degree, in the duty of the man who preaches to preach realizable ideals. Of course, when I say realizable, I do not mean that we can completely realize any ideal. When in battle you spur your men on to perform some deed of valor and prowess, it is impossible that all of them shall live up to what your words call them to do. But what you have said in battle to your men is absolutely worthless, no matter how high and exalted the sentiment, unless it does make a reasonable proportion of the soldiers to whom it is addressed move forward into the battle and do their duty reasonably well. The word of command is useless in the fight unless a reasonable number of those to whom it is uttered not only listen to it but act upon it; and the man who utters it will not find that the other men to whom he utters it will pay much heed to it

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unless they know he is prepared himself to show them the way."

A leader of the right type, such as Washington or Lincoln, will rouse to action by his words. He who merely "lulls to sleep" by his preaching is unworthy to hold a leader's place. Many men have the gift of words, and use that gift to persuade their hearers that they may live the easy life and selfishly refuse to face the stern duty of the disagreeable task. Such men have nothing to their credit but ignoble failure.

While he was stirring up the country to its obligation to support the armies of the Allies in their battles against the German aggressor, he preached the religion of valorous fight, calling to account those who preached "peace at any price, nonresistance to all wrong, disarmament, and the submission of everything to arbitration." He asserted that their sincerity and honesty, assuming they were sincere and honest, did not extenuate the wretched service they were rendering their fellow countrymen. These would put peace above

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righteousness, which was but beating the air —“‘Ephraim feedeth on wind,’ and wind is not a substantial diet.”

Mrs. Douglas Robinson, in her biography of her brother, said that the sentence that best expressed “his attitude toward conviction and acting up to conviction,” was one written by him at the time he had concluded to give up his position as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President McKinley, and volunteer for service in the war with Spain. The sentence reads as follows:

“I have a horror of the people who bark but don’t bite. If I am ever to accomplish anything worth doing in politics, or ever have accomplished it, it is because I act up to what I preach, and it does not seem to me that I would have the right in a big crisis not to act up to what I preach. At least I want you to believe that I am doing this conscientiously, and not from merely selfish reasons or from an impulse of levity.”

In introducing an article published in *The*

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Forum, July, 1894, entitled, "The Manly Virtues and Practical Politics," he mentioned the sort of preaching to which reformers should listen:

"Sometimes in addressing men who sincerely desire the betterment of our public affairs, but who have not taken active part in directing them, I feel tempted to tell them that there are two gospels which should be preached to every reformer. The first is the gospel of morality; the second is the gospel of efficiency."

He took the position that the citizen was more culpable who wronged the commonwealth than the one who wronged his neighbor, because the wrong-doing of the first ate into the life of the body-politic, and so affected many individuals. The man who in office misuses funds entrusted to his care, whose vote or influence can be bought, or who sells offices to the highest bidder is a more deadly enemy to the national well-being than the man who steals from his fellow man.

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Alongside morality, in any calling, must go efficiency. Criticism is not enough; it must be followed by action. Mr. Roosevelt was a tireless speaker and writer. He rarely spoke without urging a higher form of conduct or exposing some evil, so that his addresses must be classed as exhortations to duty rather than orations. Most of his writing, too, had the same trend. But the action he demanded, he invariably practiced in his own person. He was a man of words, a master of exhortation; he was also and even more evidently a man of action. He began at the outset of his career to combine preaching with practice. He did things, from the time when, April 6, 1882, he took the floor in the New York Assembly and demanded the impeachment of Judge Westbrook of Newbury, until he penned his last message and sent it, January 5, 1919, to the *Kansas City Star*. The concluding paragraph of this message reads:

“I believe that such an effort [referring to the application of the Monroe Doctrine]

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made moderately and sanely but sincerely and with utter scorn for *words that are not made good by deeds* will be productive of real and lasting international good."

He cleansed the politics of New York; did pioneer work of permanent value in the new state of North Dakota; revealed the iniquity of the spoils system; gave New York City the best police administration it had ever had; laid the foundation of a powerful navy; commanded a victorious regiment; as Governor of New York, enacted legislation necessary to the progress of the state; in the office of Chief Executive of the Nation, did more for the country than any of his predecessors save Washington and Lincoln had done; preserved for historical museums five hundred and twelve specimens of the beasts and fowl of East and Central Africa; discovered and charted nearly one thousand miles of a river in Brazil never before visited by white men. In fact, the existence of it had not been suspected. He made two great fights, one for

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righteousness in politics, the other for America's honor. Then this man of mighty achievement stopped working. The vital principle ceased to actuate. His day of rest had come.

No one better than he knew the power of honest preaching. In a magazine article, "The Pioneer," he paid high tribute to those stalwart men of God who took religion into the wilderness.

"These preachers were of the stamp of old Peter Cartwright—men who suffered and overcame every hardship in common with their flock, and who in addition tamed the wild and fierce spirit of their fellow-pioneers. It was not a task that could have been accomplished by men desirous to live in the soft places of the earth and to walk easily on life's journey. They had to possess the spirit of the martyrs; but not of martyrs who could merely suffer, not of martyrs who could oppose only passive endurance to wrong. The pioneer preachers warred against the forces of spiritual evil with the same fiery zeal and energy that they and

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their fellows showed in their conquest of the rugged continent. They had in them the heroic spirit, the spirit that scorns ease if it must be purchased by failure to do duty, the spirit that courts risk and a life of hard endeavor if the goal to be reached is really worth attaining. Great is our debt to these men, and scant the patience we need show toward their critics. At times they seemed hard and narrow to those whose training and surroundings had saved them from similar temptations; and they have been criticized, as all men, whether missionaries, soldiers, explorers, or frontier settlers, are criticized when they go forth to do the rough work that must inevitably be done by those who act as the first harbingers, the first heralds, of civilization in the world's dark places."

On the other hand, he criticized with his usual directness of speech notoriety-seeking preachers. When he was recovering in the Roosevelt Hospital from the serious operation that was performed in February, 1918, he was

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talking with his friend John J. Leary, Jr., about the worth of the nurses who were serving him.

“Honestly, I feel as though I had had a mental bath.” [he said.] “After what I’ve seen here I’m tempted the next time some half-baked jack of a preacher who cannot fill his church any other way cuts loose with an attack on American women, picturing them as brainless butterflies with never a thought of anything but cocktails, cabarets, and dress, who are ‘dooming the race’—that’s one of their favorite declarations—I’m tempted to take him and drop him in some first-class hospital. He’ll leave with his soul cleaner and in better working order than when he entered, that is, if he has a soul bigger than a mustard seed; and the girls won’t be damaged any by his cluttering up the place for a few days.”

“You did not go to church? I thought not. Well, here’s your sermon. I’m in a sermonizing mood to-day.”

He liked to introduce his speeches with texts from the Bible. Thus when he was invited to

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speak at Northfield, Mass., the home of the school founded by Dwight L. Moody, he selected a topic suggested to him by the great evangelist, "Doers of the Word."

"In such a school," [he began] "a school which is to equip young men to do good in the world—to show both the desire for the rule of righteousness and the practical power to give actual effect to that desire—it seems to me there are two texts specially worthy of emphasis. One is, 'Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only.' The other is, 'Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.' A republic of free men is preëminently a community in which there is need for the actual exercise and practical application of both the milder and strong virtues. Every good quality, every virtue, and every grace has its place and is of use in the great scheme of creation."

The text "Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only" was a favorite of his. William Salisbury, the journalist, relates in his Mem-

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oirs of being assigned by his paper to follow President Roosevelt during a visit to Chicago. When Sunday morning came, the President, as was his custom, sought out the Reformed Church, a small chapel on the West Side. After the service, the pastor invited Mr. Roosevelt to step into the pulpit and preach to the people. He gave out the text just quoted, repeated it several times, and plunged into an animated discourse, using simple, forceful language. He talked of the duties of parents to children, and told a story to illustrate his meaning. The story concerned a peevish boy who was annoying his mother during a railroad trip. "I'd like to have been that boy's father for a few minutes," he remarked, showing his teeth. "I'd have shown him how to treat an overworked, careworn mother." Then he talked of *Pilgrim's Progress*, telling of Christian's experiences in the Slough of Despond, and of his encounters with Giant Despair. He urged the tired and desperate and diseased to take renewed courage. "There are moments in the lives of all," he continued,

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“when despair grips us. There are times when we must fight the fight alone. Then it is that we need our faith. We shall be overcome without the armor and sword of Christian. But with courage born of deep faith, faith like Christ had, we may face the darkest, most dismal hour and put to flight the hosts of aliens.”

We hear much about the distinctive American novel, biography, musical composition. What of the distinctive American sermon? It is doubtful if a sermon was ever preached from an American pulpit the superior of Roosevelt's “The Strenuous Life,” which, by the way, he said he wished he had called “The Vigor of Life,” as better describing what he meant. With what grand rhythm and high aim it begins!

“I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labor and strife; to preach the highest form of success which comes, not to the man who desires more

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easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph."

"A life of slothful ease, a life of that peace which springs merely from the lack either of desire or of power to strive after great things, is as little worthy of a nation as of an individual. . . In the last analysis a healthy state can exist only when the men and women who make it up lead clean, vigorous, healthy lives; when the children are so trained that they shall endeavor, not to shirk difficulties, but to overcome them; not to seek ease, but to know how to wrest triumph from toil and risk. The man must be glad to do a man's work, to dare and endure and to labor; to keep himself, and to keep those dependent upon him. The woman must be the housewife, the helpmeet of the home-maker, the wise and fearless mother of many healthy children.

"I preach to you, then, my countrymen, that our country calls not for the life of ease, but

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for the life of strenuous endeavor. The twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations. . . . Let us boldly face the life of strife, resolute to do our duty well and manfully; resolute to uphold righteousness by deed and by word; resolute to be both honest and brave, to serve high ideals, yet to use practical methods. Above all, let us shrink from no strife, moral or physical, within or without the nation, provided we are certain that the strife is justified, for it is only through strife, through hard and dangerous endeavor, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness."

"I am accused of preaching," he once said with a laugh to a group of friends, "but I have such a bully pulpit!"

His pulpit was the legislative hall at Albany, the pioneer county of the Dakota Bad Lands, the police commissioner's office at Mulberry Street, the battlefield, the executive mansion of New York, the White House, the game trails of Africa, the untrodden Brazilian wild-

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erness, his home at Sagamore Hill; and his parish was the entire American nation, yes, the world. Surely he is entitled to pass on into history the greatest preacher of moral and spiritual virtue of this generation.

Both life and death are parts of the same Great Adventure. Never yet was worthy adventure worthily carried through by the man who put his personal safety first.

—THE GREAT ADVENTURE.

CHAPTER XII

THE FEARLESS LEADER

Back of all Roosevelt did was high purpose and dauntless spirit. King George of England, on a certain occasion, discussing Roosevelt's prowess as a hunter, declared that he had it on good authority that he could be depended on to shoot accurately in the presence of danger. That was the kind of courage Roosevelt exhibited. He would not side-step an issue or seek to escape out of a tight place, thinking less of the results to his person and more of the principle involved. This attitude gave him coolness and confidence in the presence of danger, and enabled him as King George had said, "To shoot straight." Nervousness in the face of peril is only exhibited by those who are afraid for themselves, not by those who subordinate self and think chiefly of the cause.

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As a child, he faced the impedient of a severe bodily weakness which gave rise to nervousness and timidity. He was unable to engage in rough sports with other boys; and it seemed extremely unlikely that he would ever have a strong, vigorous body. His sister, Mrs. Douglas Robinson, tells in her biography how, when Theodore was eleven years of age, their father resolved to do what he could to enable his son to overcome his bodily weakness. So he called the boy to him one day and said, "Theodore, you have the mind, but you have not the body; and without the help of the body the mind cannot go as far as it should. You must *make* your body. It is hard drudgery to make one's body, but I know you will do it."

From that day, young Theodore determined to equip himself with health and muscular energy. He practiced in a gymnasium, engaged in athletics in college, though without distinction, and throughout the course of his public career participated in sports that demanded strength of muscle, the clear eye and the quick mind. In the stress and strain of the train-

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ing to which he subjected himself, he forfeited the sight of an eye and the hearing of an ear, but he attained the goal he sought.

While President, he delighted to take his friends, the Cabinet officers and the foreign ambassadors on long horseback rides and obstacle walks, and usually was able to outdistance them. On these expeditions, the adventurers did not turn aside for obstacles however formidable. If a river was encountered, the custom was to plunge in and wade or swim to the other bank. When at Sagamore Hill, he took similar obstacle walks with the children, rowed on the Sound and chopped trees.

He was fifty years of age when he engaged in his big game expedition in Africa, an age when the majority of men are satisfied to spend their holidays and evenings with their families, and leave dangerous exploits to the younger generation. While in Africa, the expedition lived constantly in the open, made long journeys on foot and horseback through jungles, and traveled far in dense forests and mountainous country in search of wild beasts that

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had killed hundreds of white men and thousands of natives, After a year of this exposed life, Mr. Roosevelt emerged in splendid physical condition; and on the homeward tour through Egypt and Europe delivered some of the most telling speeches of his career. Four years later, he went to Brazil and engaged in what proved to be the severest test of physical endurance to which he had ever been subjected. The expedition which he headed plunged into an unknown country peopled by savages, wild beasts, poisonous insects, reptiles, and deadly fever. For two months the party was lost to civilization. When it emerged with the loss of two men, Mr. Roosevelt, though incapacitated by swamp fever, retained his vigor of spirit, recovered, and did some of the most arduous campaigning.

The fact was that he had by sheer moral will whipped a disease-racked body into an obedient and powerful servant.

On October 14, 1912, as he was leaving his hotel in Milwaukee for the purpose of delivering a speech on the Progressive issue, he was

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shot by John Schrank, a demented fanatic. The bullet entered the chest through the right breast, was deflected by a manuscript and spectacle case, else it would have killed him almost immediately, and embedded itself in a rib, breaking the rib. The wound was a serious one, but Mr. Roosevelt proceeded to the hall and delivered the address. One of the physicians who attended him at that time, speaking of Mr. Roosevelt's strength, said, "Colonel Roosevelt has a phenomenal development of the chest. It is largely due to the fact that he is a physical marvel that he was not dangerously wounded. He is one of the most powerful men I have ever seen laid on an operating table. The bullet lodged in the massive muscles of the chest instead of penetrating the lung." The consensus of opinion of the surgeons was given in an official bulletin: "We find him in magnificent physical condition, due to his regular physical exercise, his habitual abstinence from tobacco and liquor."

How much of his success may be attributed to his courageous physical development, we

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may not say; but he certainly could not have done anything like the amount of work he has to his credit had he carried into manhood the weakness of his boyhood.

Physically, Mr. Roosevelt must be listed among the very brave men. He not only faced, without flinching, hardship and peril when encountered, but actually sought out the most difficult tests of human endurance. The three places where his hardihood was most conspicuously displayed—among the San Juan Hills in Cuba, in the African jungle, and in the Brazilian wilderness—he went to voluntarily. In the San Juan battle, he advanced at the head of his regiment chiefly on his own initiative, for the situation was extremely confusing since none of them knew where they were going or what their immediate objective was. Roosevelt believed that the thing to do was to move forward, which he did, leading the charge up San Juan Hill and beyond to the second range of hills. His impetuosity, quickly conveyed to his men, drove the Spanish infantry in headlong retreat. It should be

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kept in mind that Roosevelt had never before faced a hostile rifle, much less had experience in maneuvering troops under fire in difficult territory. It was not luck at all, nor unreckoning daring that made him the hero of that fight, but cool judgment and the display of hard common sense and the conviction, never absent, that here was a stern duty, and that the thing must be done whatever the consequence.

In recognition of his gallantry, he was promoted colonel by brevet by the President, and recommended for the "Congressional Medal of Honor, for distinguished conduct and conspicuous bravery in command of his regiment in the charge on San Juan Hill, Cuba, July 1, 1898." In describing his conduct at that time, Captain C. J. Stevens, an eye witness, said:

"By his gallantry and strong personality, he contributed most materially to the success of the charge of the Cavalry division up San Juan Hill. Colonel Roosevelt was among the first to reach the crest of the hill, and his dashing example, his absolute fearlessness and gallant

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leading rendered his conduct conspicuous and clearly distinguished above that of other men."

The courage he showed in Africa was of quite different character. The timid cannot comprehend the desire of the hardy, danger-loving nature to seek out the perilous. There are four dangerous, man-killing beasts in Africa: the rhinoceros, buffalo, elephant, and lion. In the course of his adventure, Mr. Roosevelt killed several of each, sometimes under conditions of imminent danger to life. He stopped charging lions, buffaloes, and elephants when failure to take cool aim and shoot straight would have meant severe mauling if not more serious results. On one occasion, while hunting elephants in forest growth so thick that the hunter could see but a few paces ahead, he happened on a herd and brought one animal to the ground. An instant later the dense cover parted close on his left and a mighty bull elephant came charging through. The beast was so close that he could have touched the hunter with his trunk. Roosevelt,

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whose rifle had been emptied on the elephant just killed, stepped back of a tree and re-loaded. He had escaped by the merest chance. His hunting comrade then fired and drove off the huge creature.

He considered that lion hunting involved the greatest risk. In the course of the African expedition, he killed eight elephants, six buffaloes, thirteen rhinoceroses, and nine lions. Those who have read his vivid descriptions of lion hunts appreciate the steady nerve and daring with which those ferocious beasts must be tracked and killed. Time and again, had his courage been less high or his aim less true, the lion would have reached him.

But of all his outdoor adventures, none called for more endurance, heroic facing of peril, and calm acceptance of bitter disappointment than his descent of the River of Doubt in Brazil. He was fifty-four years of age at the time. No one but a man of exceptional physical stamina could have successfully surmounted the hardship. It was February 27, 1914, that the party of which he was the com-

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mander launched their seven canoes or dug-outs on the River of Doubt and plunged boldly into the unknown. The country through which the river ran was thickly forested. Here and there on its banks were signs of Indian habitation. Monkeys chattered in the trees, poisonous serpents silently glided across the trails which deer and jaguar had made in the woods. The party soon found that the rapids were to prove a serious obstacle. They were met with continually, and portages had constantly to be made through a wild, primeval country. Mosquitoes and gnats defied head-nets and other protective covering and made life miserable.

By means of incredible labor, the heavy dug-outs were either poled through the rapids or carried bodily around them. Then provisions began to get low, and the men went on short rations. Once, in shooting a particularly dangerous rapid, one of the paddlers was drowned. Progress was painfully slow. The rain poured on the weary adventurers in drenching down-pours; and the men had no knowledge what-

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ever of what was ahead—worse rapids and more trying hardships as the event proved. Game and fish were scarce and the party had to depend on the tops of the palms for food. Vicious ants and wasps joined the gnats and mosquitoes and bit the men until faces were badly swollen and hands rendered almost unfit for work.

Then, in the very heart of the black wilderness, a dark tragedy occurred. One of the most faithful men was murdered by a rascal who had given continual trouble. All baggage was now abandoned save the barest necessities. Fever assailed them; jagged rocks on the river bottom bruised and cut them. Finally, weakened by lack of food, disease, and long continued privation, the party came on traces of civilization. Mr. Roosevelt had carried his share of responsibility and done his share of work until the last rapid was passed. He then succumbed to the fever. It was part of his philosophy to move forward and not endanger the lives of his comrades by lagging. With superhuman endurance he had kept on his feet

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and shared in the toil. Then, when the zone of safety was at hand, he allowed himself to be carried. Burning with fever he lay in the bottom of a small dugout under the blazing tropical sun and terrific downpours of rain. Well might he desire at the conclusion of that heart-breaking journey the quiet and peace of Sagamore Hill. Home scenes were calling to him, as was evident from passages he inserted in his record of the day's actions and impressions. He wrote at that time of his home and blessed associations there, as a man only could write who counted the treasure of loving wife and children the most precious possession on earth.

He had a spirit no reverse could daunt. A person who spoke as widely and freely as he did, and who had many bitter enemies, stood in constant danger of attempts on his life. This he well knew, but as he said:

“For eleven years I have been prepared any day to be shot; and if any one of the officers of my regiment had abandoned the battle merely because he received a wound that did

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nothing worse than break a rib, I should never have trusted that officer again."

He was finally shot by the fanatic John Schrank. On being urged by the physicians to go to the hospital, he replied: "You get me to that speech. It may be the last I deliver, but I am going to deliver this one." He gave the address, and was then taken to the hospital. Commenting later on his reasons for going on with the address, he said that he thought it a good way to die—with one's boots on. He decided that the wound was not fatal, but that it would probably retire him from the campaign. He would therefore speak while he could. Besides, as he had intimated, a soldier does not retire from a battle for a broken rib. He merely did what his training had taught him to do.

Mr. Roosevelt did many spectacular things, and by certain persons of restricted mental appreciation was accused of mock heroism. The fact of the case was that he was so thoroughly genuine that a false move was impossible to

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him. He was exceedingly fond of adventure, had made himself daring, and by long discipline schooled himself to act right in the moment of great peril. It cannot be repeated too often that his physical courage was the result of lifelong discipline; and had become part and parcel of his resolute character.

Contrary to the prevailing notion, he was not bold by nature. He did possess marvelous will control; and to that, as much as to any other element, his phenomenal achievements, physical and moral must be attributed. Success came to him in liberal measure; but never without conscious and persistent effort. Every achievement of his career had back of it arduous toil, sound judgment and painstaking calculation. He was mentally precocious, his will to do served him well; but his body was weak, which meant nervous doubts and timidity. Long, determined discipline alone carried him to the high places.

He reminded beginners in hunting that they must expect to have "buck fever," meaning nerves that are tense and beyond control, not a

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species of timidity. It may affect a speaker before he steps on the platform, a soldier before the battle, a hunter with the game in sight. The cure is control of the nervous energy, a mastery that comes through constant exercise of will power. A hunter should not go in quest of dangerous game until he has gained such control, for the fact that a man can hit a target at one hundred yards by no means indicates that he can stop a charging lion or elephant at that distance, for in the second instance steadiness and physical address are the determining factors. There are degrees of efficiency in hunting. It requires the highest degree of nerve control and tried skill to go after a lion that has been wounded and has taken cover. Courage is not enough; proficiency with the rifle is not enough. He who would engage in such perilous hunting must have absolute control of all his powers.

Mr. Roosevelt had done much hunting of dangerous game before he went to Africa, and was not affected by nervousness when confronted by an attacking lion; but he had only

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reached that kind of proficiency by persistent attempt, for in his earlier hunting days he was extremely nervous.

Nearly all soldiers are frightened when they first go into battle, but let them act as though they were not frightened and by degrees courage will come.

“There were all kinds of things I was afraid of at first,” [he writes] “ranging from grizzly bears to ‘mean’ horses and gun-fighters; but by acting as if I were not afraid I gradually ceased to be afraid. . . . One can do his part honorably and well, provided only he sets fearlessness before himself as an ideal, schools himself to think of danger merely as something to be faced and overcome, and regards life itself as he should regard it, not as something to be thrown away, but as a pawn to be promptly hazarded whenever the hazard is warranted by the larger interests of the great game in which we are all engaged.”

His courage, therefore, did not savor of the foolhardy kind, but was deliberately acquired

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and long calculated. While he was President, he went down in a submarine. In 1905, the year he undertook the venture, submarines were in the experimental stage, and fatal accidents were frequent. The incident was recorded in the news as unwarranted and venturesome. In reality the President wished to understand the structure of the underseas craft and its mode of operation. The navy was a department in which he took especial interest, and he foresaw that the submarine would exert a transforming influence. Besides, he did not like to ask officers and men to undertake an experiment he would not venture on himself.

He admired physical prowess, counted among his friends champions in many branches of sport, and rewarded bravery whenever possible. While president of the New York Police Board, it gave him keen delight to discover an officer who had quietly and in keeping with duty performed a deed of heroism. He was quick to reward such action either with a medal or promotion. The system of reward he insti-

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tuted did as much as anything to increase the efficiency of the force.

His physical hardihood was but a preparation for a display of that higher and often more difficult form of courage—fearlessness in the line of moral duty; for he said that men were not worth much who did not possess moral as well as physical courage. Here, also, he trained himself by long practice to forcefully oppose all forms of wrongdoing. He stood squarely against the laborer when he was wrong, the capitalist who had acquired wealth by fraudulent methods, the prominent officeholder who was deceiving the people. He was not among those reformers who denounced evil practices only when it was safe to do so, and remained silent when powerful but corrupt men were involved; or who championed a cause, as that of labor, and denounced all enemies of labor whether right or wrong. There is a justice in courage as in other forms of human activity, and he who does not recognize this justice is not a safe guide for honest men.

The test of a man's fitness for office is duty

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efficiently and fearlessly performed. When he was President, he was urged again and again by Congress either to retain for political reasons a man who had proved inefficient, or to remove one whose honesty and fearlessness had offended the political leaders.

The ability of rich and powerful but iniquitous office-holders to escape punishment was notorious previous to the Roosevelt administration. Land frauds, post-office evils, swindles in high finance and political graft were common and went unwinked at by Federal law. President Roosevelt reorganized the department of law, appointed as district attorneys honest, capable and fearless men, and got immediate results. Influential trust magnates, bankers and senators were arrested, convicted, and sent to jail.

He was entirely without fear in his appointments and removals. When he became President, Mark Hanna was the most influential man in the councils of the nation. He had made William McKinley President, and had largely dictated his policies. Soon after Roose-

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velt's accession to the office, highly placed financiers called on him and endeavored to persuade him to abate the rigor of his treatment of the trusts. This he refused to do. Hanna wrote to him in the same vein; but he rejected the advice.

When he entertained the negro, Booker T. Washington, at dinner at the White House, October 18, 1901, the entire country was up in arms, and the South infuriated. He had issued the invitation, however, on the assumption that the black man and the white man should be treated on their merits. Booker T. Washington was one of America's most useful citizens and was therefore entitled to sit at the President's table. He was merely extending Christian courtesy.

What he had to say he said candidly and honorably. When General Nelson A. Miles was commander-in-chief of the United States army, he took aggrieved offense because the secretary of war, Elihu Root, reprimanded him for publicly condemning the finding of the court in the case of Admirals Schley and

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Sampson. General Miles protested to the President in arrogant fashion. He encountered, however, more than his match. In the presence of a number of persons who were waiting an audience, the President rebuked the general with stern invective, upheld Secretary Root, and added that Miles deserved the reprimand he had received.

With equal directness, he once rebuked Samuel Gompers when the two were sitting together on the platform at a labor meeting. Striding over to him, he assured him, in forceful language such as he alone could use, that he had garbled the truth.

If he had a message to deliver, he delivered it whether in the enemy's country or not. When speaking in the southern states, he denounced oppression of negroes and the iniquity of lynching; in the Middle West, to German audiences, connivance with Germany; in New York City, hyphenated Americanism; before gatherings of capitalists and employers, the iniquity of hoarded wealth and low wages; before union men, the dangers of overorganization; before

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editors and newspaper men, the villany of yellow journalism. Speaking once at Reno, Nevada, he struck a sledge-hammer blow at the divorce colony there. But he always used reason and had arguments, difficult to answer, at command. It did seem as though he deliberately chose the subject that would antagonize his audience. On the other hand, his hearers generally perceived his courage and honest purpose, and applauded.

He was always courageous for America. He perceived that no nation can be great unless it has the courage to blaze its own trail and work out its own destiny. In season and out, he preached scorn of cowardly acquiescence in wrongdoing, and urged practice of the sterner, manlier virtues. Said he in a glowing paragraph:

“Cowardice in a race, as in an individual, is the unpardonable sin, and a willful failure to prepare for danger may in its effects be as bad as cowardice. The timid man who cannot fight, and the selfish, shortsighted or foolish

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man who will not take the steps that will enable him to fight, stand on almost the same plane."

Religion to him meant little unfortified by hardihood, resolute endurance and the courage to act honestly under the most trying circumstances. The morally flabby church member deserves the detestation of all good citizens. As he declared in an address given at Christ Church, Oyster Bay, September 8, 1906:

"The man is not a good Christian, if his domestic conduct is such that when he returns to his home, his wife and children feel a sense of uneasiness at his having come."

Whether he was defending his manhood in the Dakota Bad Lands, stopping a charging lion, commanding Germany to keep her hands off in the case of the Venezuelan territory, or reprimanding a southern audience for its mistreatment of the negro, he did it in the line of duty. He was fearless in what he said and did because fearlessness was right and cowardice was wrong.

In the last analysis the most important element in any man's career must be the sum of those qualities which, in the aggregate, we speak of as character.

—GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

CHAPTER XIII

HE DEFINES CHARACTER

We would expect a person of Mr. Roosevelt's sound common sense to place character above genius. "Genius is not necessary," he said, "Genius is a fine thing but fortunately character is not only more common, but better." He named three qualities essential to well-rounded character: Honesty, courage, and the saving grace of common sense. Men with capacity to accumulate great wealth, men with intellect, men with the personality that goes with leadership, or men possessed with any other talent, must have character first, otherwise they menace the well-being of the community.

He preached the gospel of work as an important adjunct to sterling character. He reserved his admiration for those men and

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women who spoke in deeds. Work, hard work, unceasing work, work that meant exhaustion, he urged on all who wished success for themselves or for the state. Do not pity the man who toils, he said, pity the person who does not toil. The proud must work; the humble must work. Work is a law of nature none may escape. No worthwhile progress can possibly be made without it. But work should be well done. Better let someone do the task who will do it well than do it yourself in slipshod fashion. The duty should be honestly met, and done with an application of common sense. Men like trees are known by their fruits.

He had nothing but praise for the honest toilers of America, often going out of his way to commend them. He liked to shake hands with the engineer and fireman of the train on which he had ridden, to mingle with sailors and soldiers, cowboys and hunters, lumbermen and pilots, for he felt deeply America's obligation to the laborers who were turning the wheels of industry, directing commerce and defending the national honor on land and sea. Work-

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ing America never had a more generous or appreciative advocate. He wanted his sons to learn the dignity of honest toil, and to possess the fiber of character that comes therefrom. Consequently he had them start at the bottom and work shoulder to shoulder with the workmen who wore jumpers and overalls.

The joy of life comes only to those who have carried the burden through the heat of the day, not to those who have shifted it to the shoulders of others. He once said in a Labor Day address:

“No man needs sympathy because he has to work, because he has a burden to carry. Far and away the best prize that life offers is the chance to work hard at work worth doing; and this is a prize open to every man, for there can be no work better worth doing than that done to keep in health and comfort and with reasonable advantages those immediately dependent upon the husband, the father, or the son. There is no room in our healthy American life for the mere idler, for the man or the woman

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whose object it is throughout life to shirk the duties which life ought to bring. . . . *No one seems to arrive at any goal really worth reaching in this world who does not come to it heavy laden."*

"Back of character are the rugged virtues, the muscular arm, the hand hardened by toil, the simple life of the family circle, the old, old qualities of courage for the day, resolution, unflinching willingness to meet danger—the virtues that make men, men."

He felt convinced that prosperity for the nation was based in every instance on character in the nation's leaders. The country made long strides forward during the Roosevelt days; it grew rapidly in population, expanded industrially and commercially, and for the first time following the Portsmouth Conference engineered by Roosevelt at which peace was secured for Russia and Japan, climbed to a position of equality with the great European powers. This prosperity Roosevelt attributed not to his own efforts but to the high average

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of citizenship. Fidelity to the higher interests of America was to him a religion. Corrupt politicians, corrupt bankers, and corrupt congressmen meant a corrupted commonwealth. On this account, he hunted down with relentless persistency the dishonest men, and just as cheerfully elevated to offices of trust and responsibility men whose veracity and patriotism could be depended on.

Law of itself was not sufficient; social reform was not sufficient. The factors that would make a greater America were those included in the personal lives of the citizens themselves. Therefore, he preached as from the housetops personal endurance and lofty endeavor—what he called with fine meaning, “The lift toward nobler things.”

Mr. Roosevelt had what we name, rather vaguely to be sure, personality, by which we mean a power of body and spirit that impressed itself mightily on his fellow men. The year 1905, the year when he negotiated the treaty that terminated the Russo-Japanese war, was perhaps the year of his supreme triumph. He

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was hailed the world around as a master of great achievement. He was called at that time by Baron Rosen, one of Russia's peace envoys, "One of the most powerful personalities now alive in the whole world." He was at the peak of his abundant powers of body, mind and spirit, and, as Baron Rosen intimated, he had no peer. Men followed him as they had followed Alexander the Great, Caesar, and Napoleon, charmed by the loftiness of his character and impressed by his accomplishments.

As for Roosevelt, while he thoroughly enjoyed the prestige, the thrill that followed successful handling of a complex problem, he thought of himself as nothing more than an American citizen to whom had been delegated by his fellow citizens an important task. He delighted in his family and gave to the country the example of an ideally conducted home. Nature was forever calling to him. He turned from affairs of state to study the habits of the birds that nested about Sagamore Hill, and kept up a constant correspondence with John Burroughs and other naturalists of this coun-

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try and England. In his adventures in the western wilds, along the African veldt, and down the River of Doubt, he recorded with minute exactness the characteristics of birds, animals, trees, and flowers. His observations in this particular form a permanent chapter in the natural history of the West, of Africa, and of Brazil.

He was always reverent. While President, he became interested in new inscriptions for the United States currency, and engaged St. Gaudens to draw up models. Feeling that the inscription on coins, "In God We Trust," made for irreverence, he concluded to remove it. Some worthy church people seriously questioned his right. In reply to these, he said that a long experience with all sorts of persons had taught him that the inscription encouraged irreverence, for, being inscribed on a medium of commercial exchange, it was subject to the gibes and accusations that inevitably accompany money-getting. He felt that the place for so reverent and elevating a phrase as, "In God We Trust," was where it would be re-

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spected, not laughed at and scorned. His argument was really unanswerable. Quite likely the intention of the men who designed the coinage and added the inscription was to encourage honest transaction, and turn the mind of moneygrubbers to the high thought of God. But in practice, their worthy intention woefully miscarried, for no phrase designed to promote reverence ever succeeded better in promoting sacrilege.

His unusual qualities of character were recognized by men of note. President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard, a person of conservative statement, after hearing him address a gathering at the University, was so profoundly impressed with Roosevelt's amazing vitality and power that he declared him to be one of the most forceful and courageous men of his time. John Morley, who visited the White House, in 1904, was tremendously affected by the President's intense personality, declaring him to be, along with Niagara Falls, the most impressive thing he had seen in America. He spoke of him as possessed of the qualities com-

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monly associated with the great Napoleon—a high degree of courage and perseverance and exceptional capacity for leadership. Then the discriminating Mr. Morley added that he had also that most important quality of all, unfortunately lacked by Bonaparte—high moral purpose.

He was a man of striking contrasts. Whatever he did, he did intensely; whatever he felt, he felt intensely. Alas for the individual, highly placed, who does not have the saving grace of humor. Daniel Webster's solemnity of behavior probably kept him from being President. Perhaps no President, unless it was Lincoln, had a more hearty and wholesome sense of humor than Roosevelt. There was much fun and love of laughter in his nature. In the trials of exalted office, in the hardships of campaign and wilderness journey, he was able to see the funny side of a situation and get a good laugh out of it, sometimes at other's expense, sometimes at his own. No one may tell how many friends this quality made him or how many enemies it turned into supporters.

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He considered the office of President of the United States not only the highest in the gift of the people, but a position which at all hazards must be kept free from even a suspicion of dishonesty. He allowed no money to be spent in the purchase of votes for his reelection. On learning that the Standard Oil interests had contributed \$100,000 to the campaign fund, he ordered that the money be returned, for he would obligate neither himself as President, nor the national committee, to grant special privilege to the oil trust. If he won, he wished to win on an honorable platform, preferring defeat to dishonorable election. He made no promises that would bring in votes but which he felt he could not fulfill if elected.

Principle to him was an important word. The public interest, not political expediency, determined his policies. "I should be sorry to lose the Presidency," he said, "but I should be a hundredfold more sorry to gain it by failing in every way in my power to put a stop to lynching, and to brutality and wrong of any kind."

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There are certain fundamental principles on which the characters of individuals and nations must be built. Any act that would weaken those principles must be condemned, for with the foundation shaken the superstructure is liable to collapse.

In July, 1914, William Barnes, leader of the Republican party in New York, sued Mr. Roosevelt for libel. The trial was conducted from April 19 to May 22, 1915. The prosecution hoped to find somewhere in Roosevelt's voluminous correspondence, his statements to newspapers, or his speeches evidence that while professing honest patriotism he had actually been leagued with unscrupulous interests. Roosevelt had been in public life for thirty years, and must often in that time have been subjected to peculiar inducement to lower his moral standards. Not one shred of evidence, however, could be discovered, and he was triumphantly exonerated. The fact is pointed out by Joseph Bucklin Bishop in his splendid biography that this trial, as much as any other incident in his life, revealed Roosevelt's fidelity

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to high ideals and the sterling strength of his character. As the case concluded and the jury was about to retire for a decision, news came that the *Lusitania* had been sunk by German submarines. German sympathizers were sitting on the jury; if Mr. Roosevelt issued a statement in condemnation of the act, the German jurors would probably be alienated and refuse to allow a unanimous verdict, to be returned. Roosevelt knew this, but, as he stated to a friend, "It is more important that I be right than to win this suit. I've got to be right in this matter." He then issued a statement to the papers full of the Roosevelt fire and indignation. Shortly after he said to his counsel, "Gentlemen, I am afraid that I have made the winning of this case impossible. . . . There is a principle here at stake which is far more vital to the American people than my personal welfare is to me." John M. Bowers, who was Roosevelt's attorney and who was intimately acquainted with the delicate situation, later declared that it was the most courageous act he had ever known—the supreme

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revelation of Roosevelt's character. As if added testimony were required in proof of Mr. Roosevelt's upright public life, the names of William Barnes and other bitter enemies were found attached to the call asking Mr. Roosevelt to be Governor of New York in 1918. Men might become bitterly estranged from him, politically, but there was no question with reference to his unvarying honesty and high patriotism.

His fearlessness when an issue of right and wrong was involved was illustrated in an incident that happened at Carnegie Hall, July 6, 1917, when Mr. Roosevelt and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, were on the platform as speakers. Just previous to the meetings, race riots had taken place in East St. Louis, where certain white mill-workers had struck and had been replaced by negroes. The whites had attacked the negroes, burned the houses where they were living, and killed several of them including women and children. In his address, Mr. Gompers declared that the disaster was the fault of the blacks,

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and that they themselves were to blame for the murders. Mr. Roosevelt protested, said that he could not sit silent while an apology was being offered for the murder of women and children, and, crossing the platform, shook his fist in Gompers' face and affirmed that the deed was cowardly and unworthy of a powerful white state. Gompers retaliated and Roosevelt restated his position. The incident was given wide prominence in the news as an act of discourtesy on the part of Mr. Roosevelt. But being what he was, he could not have acted differently. It may not have been good form for him to have thrust Gompers' words back at him, but it was good Christianity, for he had raised his voice in behalf of the maligned and oppressed.

At the time of the presidential nomination in 1904, strong opposition to Roosevelt developed in entrenched politics and in Wall Street. Big business corporations and at least one great railway system endeavored to influence state delegations against him. But he was nominated unanimously. During the

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campaign for election, two out of every three important city papers were opposed to him, yet he won by a majority of two and one half million. The country had never before witnessed anything like so generous an expression of approval of a presidential candidate. The common people believed in his integrity; and the heart of the common people beats true.

Theodore Roosevelt had his faults. He was impetuous, and spoke his thoughts too freely, sometimes unfairly accusing an opponent. But he never could be found wanting in those old-fashioned virtues that go into the composition of solid character: loyalty, utter sincerity, and untiring devotion to the truth.

We admire the man who embodies victorious effort; the man who never wrongs his neighbor; who is prompt to help a friend, but who has also those virile qualities necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life.

—THE STRENUOUS LIFE.

CHAPTER XIV

HIS FRIENDSHIPS

Mr. Roosevelt was a person of vividly contrasted traits of character. He spoke as intensely as he thought, and when he spoke it was never from the standpoint of expediency. On the one hand, the charm of his personality made many friends, while on the other his bold and unsparing speech made enemies. But friends far outnumbered enemies. His enemies were confined to relatively small groups of moneyed men, politicians of shady reputation, and thwarted trust manipulators. Mrs. Robinson, his sister, states that just before he sailed for Africa, at the close of his term as President, he received from fifteen to twenty thousand letters from friends and well-wishers, who often wrote in terms of affection as though a member of the family were going

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away. When Roosevelt returned to this country, preceded by the prestige of a mighty hunter and an honored associate of the crowned heads of Europe, he received the greatest demonstration ever given a private citizen.

He was the people's President. He had championed their causes against powerful and unscrupulous interests that would have robbed them and given them diluted justice. The people thought of him first as their friend, and he was known from one end of the country to the other as "Teddy." No other President before or since has reached so deeply into the affections of the common people. Imagine them calling Mr. Taft "Willie," or applying a similarly familiar epithet to Mr. Wilson or Mr. Harding. The public might profoundly respect the abilities of other presidents and have confidence in their executive ability, but it reserved its heartfelt devotion for Roosevelt. The generation which has arisen since he was President has no conception of the enthusiasm that greeted him when he arose to speak, or

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the admiration and affection the millions felt for him who never saw or heard him.

While President, he took as much pride in the American people as a father might in his children. Acutely alive to his responsibility to them, the incentive of their welfare kept him true to the highest traditions of the exalted office to which they had elevated him, and induced him to toil without ceasing in their interest.

His feeling for people was one of real fellowship. When he worked with others he felt the glorious fellowship of work; when he played, he played with zest and thorough enjoyment. All were living on the same plane of brotherhood, performing a common task for a common end. He did not patronize, knowing patronage must be as offensive to others as it was to him. His relationship with the people was a partnership in which there was mutual responsibility, it mattered not the office he was holding.

He did not approve of those who made over-much profession of doing good to others.

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Others do not want us to strive to do them good. We need ministering to as much as they do, and they can do as much good to us as we can to them. There was positively no place in his religion for a mawkish Christianity, the pitying, submissive type. He could not tolerate that sort of preaching that pled for constant sacrifice and self-denial, and did not likewise ask for a returning sacrifice and self-denial. In other words, those who gave ought to receive in equal measure. Friendship meant taking as well as giving. Friendship where everything is given and nothing received is not worth the name. People do not need pity; they need the incentive to work, and to shoulder their load without whining. Pity weakens the moral fiber if it is too long indulged in. He felt that the pictures of the Christ that represented him as a man of compassion, merely, did him an injustice, and were not true to the New Testament description. As he informed his sister Mrs. Robinson in a letter written at the early age of twenty-three, he preferred the pictures of the Master

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where pity was lost in admiration and reverence.

Often, while governor of New York, or while President, he was asked to pardon murderers, or to lighten their sentences. But if he was convinced of the condemned man's guilt, the most heart-rending pleas of mother, wife, or sister could not persuade him to interfere with the operation of the law. In instances where the crime was unusually atrocious, when persons of standing wrote to him asking clemency, he wrote back, saying that he regretted it was not in his power to increase the sentence. Justice is even-handed and must include punishment as well as reward, if for no other reason than for the protection of self-respecting citizens. "Mercy to the coward is cruelty to the brave man."

He was not the friend of the poor man because that man was poor or the friend of the rich man because that man was rich; he was the friend equally of both if both equally deserved his friendship. He was once introduced to an audience as the "Poor man's

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friend.” At the commencement of his speech, he said: “Let me announce that I am the poor man’s friend if the poor man is straight and I am the rich man’s friend if the rich man is straight. If a man is crooked I am against him, rich or poor.”

When he first entered politics and following his first triumph, he decided to act independently of his fellows. In consequence he formed his judgments without consulting with his associates, and acted in the Assembly on his own initiative. He was too sensible, however, to continue long at that lone game. He saw that victories are won by all the members of the team coöperating. The lesson was a valuable one, and he never forgot it. The highest service can only be done in combination with others. As President, he was able to give the country a good administration, one of the best, in fact, any President ever gave it, because all the officials from Cabinet officers down felt that they were working on the same elevated plane of service to the nation. There was a mutual understanding that all were co-

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öperating to make America a better place in which to live. As the President expressed it: "Most of the men who did the best work under me felt that ours was a partnership, that we all stood on the same level of purpose and of service, and that it mattered not what position any one of us held so long as in that position he did the best that was in him."

James Bryce, ambassador to this country from England, commenting on the zeal he witnessed among the administration officials at Washington, said that in much study of the conduct of government in different countries he had not seen anywhere "a more eager, high-minded, and efficient set of public servants, men more useful and more creditable to their country, than the men then doing the work of the American Government in Washington and in the field."

Roosevelt made the Presidency a thoroughly cosmopolitan office. Highly placed captains of industry could not take precedence over the men in their employ when it came to an audience in the White House; nor Congressmen

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over private citizens; nor members of the President's family over strangers; for that would have been un-American and out of keeping with the Lincoln tradition which exerted a strong influence over the President.

Two men were constantly with Theodore Roosevelt, though invisible—his father, the first Theodore; and Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln exerted a tremendous influence over him. This influence amounted at times almost to a spiritual control. While in the White House, he was constantly thinking of him as the pictures and descriptions represented him, shock-haired, patient, sad of face; sitting at his desk; at table with his family; meeting the multitude of diplomats, senators, soldiers, editors and delegations, and always with self-possession and wise counsel. No nobler eulogy was ever spoken on Lincoln than Roosevelt's address delivered on Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1909, at the martyred President's birthplace.

“After long years of iron effort and of failure that came more often than victory, he at

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last rose to the leadership of the Republic, at the moment when that leadership had become the stupendous world-task of the time. He grew to know greatness but never ease. Success came to him, but never happiness, save that which springs from doing well a painful and vital task. Power was his but not pleasure. The furrows deepened on his brow, but his eyes were undimmed by either fear or hate. His gaunt shoulders were bowed, but his steel thews never faltered as he bore for a burden the destinies of his people."

He chose his personal friends with care. He did not wish persons to come to his home and meet Mrs. Roosevelt and the children whose lives were morally objectionable, whatever their rank or station. But he threw wide the door to men and women in all walks of life who had accomplished some honorable achievement. He made a vast number of friends in the course of his public career—and no friend could have been more loyal. A person whose conduct had met his test need never fear that

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Roosevelt would not ever after be his devoted friend. Once he had admitted a person to the circle of his acquaintance, he generously did what he could to advance his interests, for friendship to him meant more than mere companionship. Many men and women, unknown and struggling for recognition as artists, writers, or speakers, have Mr. Roosevelt to thank for giving them the assistance necessary to their success. He took pleasure in publicly commending worthy persons in his speeches and writings, and in a way that meant recommendation for them.

His comrades, tried and true, of his political battles, his life on the Dakota cattle ranges, in Cuba, along the lion and elephant trails of Africa, and in that desperate expedition down the River of Doubt, were remembered and given ample praise in his books. Nothing pleased him more than to correspond with men who had done things. He discussed art with Augustus Saint-Gaudens, natural history with John Burroughs, literature with Owen Wister, history with John Morley, and statecraft with

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James Bryce, John Hay, and Henry Cabot Lodge.

He gave to his friends but he took something from them, for friendship was not a half but a whole partnership. He highly prized the friendship of Jacob A. Riis, considering him the right sort of a reformer; and he secured from him much valuable information about social conditions. While Mr. Roosevelt was president of the New York Police Board, the two frequently made the rounds of the tenement-house district together, sometimes spending an entire night in the investigation. In this way he obtained the foundation for his sound philosophy of social reform. He called Jacob Riis the best American he had known, though he was born in a foreign country.

His active interest in athletics meant that there was always a place in his affections for men of athletic prowess. He claimed the friendship of the famous prize fighters, Battling Nelson, Bob Fitzsimmons and John L. Sullivan. Fitzsimmons once presented him with a horseshoe made in the form of a pen-

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holder. And John L. Sullivan, when Roosevelt left for Africa, gave him a gold mounted rabbit's foot for luck, which, as Roosevelt tells in his autobiography, he carried throughout the entire trip in which good fortune attended him. Johnny Hayes, winner of an international Marathon race, was also one of his valued friends, and he commended him to young men seeking physical development as an example of a successful athlete.

Friends that he made in the cattle country, during the days he lived there as a ranchman, he kept as long as he lived; and the names of Sylvane and Joseph Ferris and William Merrifield are closely associated with the stirring story of his adventures in the Bad Lands as so vividly told by Hermann Hagedorn. When he was President, he gave all three of the men commissions under the Government. He liked to associate with men who had been face to face with hard physical reality, for he was thus helped to understand the purpose and feelings of the average American. He considered them typical American citizens, men who could

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be depended on to fight valiantly for the national honor should the time come. Seth Bullock was sheriff of the Black Hills district while Roosevelt was ranching in that country, and for him he came to have a very friendly feeling. Bullock was a good example of a rough-and-ready native of the soil; and after Mr. Roosevelt had spent a year hunting in Africa and visiting the prime ministers and monarchs of Europe, he cabled for Seth Bullock and his wife to come to London, feeling, "That I just had to meet my own people, who spoke my neighborhood dialect."

The White House was always open to cowboy acquaintances and to members of his Rough Rider regiment. His Rough Riders looked on him much as they would a father who would be able to get them out of troubles in which indiscretion sometimes involved them.

William H. Sewell and Will Dow, his guides in the Maine woods, and later managers of one of his ranches in Dakota, were lifelong friends.

The fact that Roosevelt made friends and

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lasting ones not only among notable statesmen, writers, and diplomats but among cowboys, guides, and soldiers indicates the democracy of his outlook. He did not avoid the friendship of the wealthy by inheritance but, on the other hand, he did not seek it; for it had been his experience that inheritors of great wealth were not workers and contributed nothing to the state. They lacked the hardier virtues, and were rendered incapable, by the very fact of their inheritance, of carrying through a task that involved heavy responsibility. Yet he did not condemn the rich man because he was rich. He directed his attack against wealth when it was hoarded or used to excite the envy of the poor. He struck to the root of the evil when he explained that the greatest harm resulting from swollen fortunes was the envy and hate they engendered on the part of the poverty-stricken. Wrongdoing was wrongdoing whether the offender was a millionaire or a pauper. Good and evil are found in all grades of society. Proof of character lies in conduct not in earthly possessions.

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These were the truths he enunciated, using them to persuade men of the need of brotherhood. His study of the Civil War taught him that one of the greatest lessons that had come out of that bloody struggle was the lesson of brotherhood. When the battle lines were set, the questions the men asked were not those of lineage, or wealth, or social positions; but would the comrade on the right hand and on the left stand his ground when the enemy charged. The battle was the great leveler. In the battle of life, one man is not better than another. He is better or worse, and deserves one's friendship or not, as his conduct is better or worse. A person makes a good friend not through what he possesses of worldly goods, but what he possesses of character.

No man ever succeeded in getting within the sacred circle of Roosevelt's friendship who could not answer the supreme test of character. John Hay, Elihu Root, and Leonard Wood, to mention a few of his more intimate friends, were men of unquestioned integrity.

This passage taken from his message at the

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opening of the first session of the fifty-seventh congress so well portrays his idea of this human relation that we append it.

“When all is said and done, the rule of brotherhood remains as the indispensable prerequisite to success in the kind of national life for which we strive. Each man must work for himself, and unless he so works no outside help can avail him; but each man must remember also that he is indeed his brother’s keeper, and that while no man who refuses to walk can be carried with advantage to himself or any one else, yet that each at times stumbles or halts, that each at times needs to have the helping hand outstretched to him. To be permanently effective, aid must always take the form of helping a man to help himself, and we can all best help ourselves by joining together in the work that is of common interest to all.”

Highly as he valued friendship, he placed it second, to the cause of honor and justice. If

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friendship conflicted with principle or duty, friendship must suffer, not the principle or duty. When he broke with the Republican party in 1912 and organized the Progressives, the break meant separation from friends of a lifetime's association. It meant also misunderstanding and bitter resentment on the part of some with whom he had been most intimate. The fact that carried weight with Roosevelt was that the Republican party was rotten and corrupted to the core, and he could no longer remain with it. No movement, political or social, was ever actuated by higher incentives than the Progressive movement at its inception. It took the form of a great brotherhood loyal to truth marching under the banner of moral idealism to attack the citadel where were entrenched Apollyon and other powers of darkness. Friendship had assumed a higher meaning and was thenceforth to be known as Brotherhood.

The Americans in whom I believe include Jews, and Catholics and Protestants. They include men of old native American descent and other men of recent German, English, French, Irish, Italian, Scandinavian, Magyar and Slavonic descent. But all are Americans, entitled to be treated as such, and claiming to be nothing else.

—AMERICANISM.

CHAPTER XV

HE ADVOCATES TOLERANCE

Not the least significant part of Roosevelt's equipment for the task in hand was his capacity to see both sides of a situation—to get the viewpoint of the other person. This quality enabled him to recognize ability whether in a supporter or an opponent. While he was Police Commissioner in New York, one of his determined political opponents was Big Tim Sullivan, a state senator. The established code of the time was to place the relatives and friends of a political enemy in a class with him and to do them no favors. Now it happened that Big Tim had a nephew, Jerry D. Sullivan by name, in the police department. He performed his duty faithfully and efficiently, and, in due course, Roosevelt promoted him. Both uncle and nephew were ex-

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ceedingly surprised; the uncle made a special effort to thank the Commissioner, and the two became firm friends of Roosevelt though politically opposed to him.

Mr. Roosevelt would not appoint a man to office because he was a Republican, or retain a Republican in office once he had proved himself incompetent. He tried, so far as he had the power, to apply the square deal, to treat every one exactly alike, believing that in the long run we all must rise or fall together.

During his term as President, he reinstated a non-union printer named Miller who had been dismissed from the Government service because he was not a member of the union. Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, called on him with a protest. Roosevelt defended his action in the logical, convincing fashion customary with him. He always had excellent reasons for what he did, and his opponents usually found him better equipped to defend his position than they were to assail it. He explained that he was under oath to administer the law for the whole

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people, and that he could not discriminate in favor of some of the people and against others.

“I am President of all the people of the United States, without regard to creed, color, birthplace, occupation or social condition. My aim is to do equal and exact judgment as among them all. In the employment and dismissal of men in the Government service, I can no more recognize the fact that a man does or does not belong to a union as being for or against him than I can recognize the fact that he is a Protestant or a Catholic, a Jew or a Gentile, as being for or against him.”

This aptitude for fair dealing strengthened the administration. It soon became known abroad that while the United States would not be guilty of oppression against other nations, it would be able to defend itself if attacked; that it felt convinced it could fulfill a promise before pledging itself; that it stood for the weak against the strong, but treated strong and weak with even-handed justice.

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As Police Commissioner, Roosevelt had seen much of the evil of prostitution. While he would not waste sentiment on the vicious prostitute, he carefully distinguished her in the courts from the girl who had been induced against her will to sell her virtue. He placed evil-minded men on the same plane with evil-minded women and punished them with equal severity. He judged apart from the distinction of sex for he was assured that the best way to defend innocent girlhood and clean manhood was to drive the criminals, men and women, out of business.

In labor controversies, he championed neither worker nor employer as such. He saw evil in strikes, and evil in the method by which strikes were opposed. Unions were not always right; employers were not always right. If he defended the laborer as he frequently did, it was only because that laborer was having a tough struggle to meet the wants of his family, and to himself lead a decent life. If he outlawed excessive wealth, as he did time and again, he outlawed it, not because it was

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wealth, but because he knew that great treasure, hoarded and used to support unwarranted extravagance, was a curse to the nation. Roosevelt had no quarrel with the rich man because he was a rich man. Times without number he called men and affairs to judgment on the basis of action and fruits rather than of heritage, possessions, and position. As he decisively stated, Democracy and Americanism go by the board if, on questions demanding moral judgments, men place class, creed, race, or party above conduct and social obligation.

The Government can be kept stable and healthy, social ideals can be kept where they belong only on the condition that the man be judged as a man. The only safe and sound test that can be applied is the test of personal worth. We must not distinguish between class and class; we must judge a man on his worth as a citizen. Questions relative to the section of the town in which a person lives, his holdings, his ancestry are all incidental. The question that determines, is the question of principle. Is he rooted and grounded in a prin-

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ciple that will not be abandoned in the day of adversity or temptation?

At bottom our interests are common.

“It is all essential to the continuance of our healthy national life,” [he said in an address on “Class Government”] “that we should recognize this community of interest among our people. The welfare of each of us is dependent fundamentally upon the welfare of all of us, and therefore in public life that man is the best representative of each of us who seeks to do good to each by doing good to all; in other words, whose endeavor it is, not to represent any special class and promote merely that class’s selfish interests, but to represent all true and honest men of all sections and all classes and to work for our common country.”

He felt strongly that there is no more important duty devolving on American citizens than to insist on the right of every man to his religious opinion. Politics has no business to concern itself with religion. No political or-

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ganization has a right to discriminate against a group because of their creed, whether Jew, Protestant, or Catholic. Such organizations promote discord in the Commonwealth. Beginning with George Washington, the Government has steadily opposed union of church and state; state assistance to a sectarian school; the requiring of a religious test for the holding of office. To vote for or against a man because of his religion violates the spirit of the Constitution. Agitation in favor of creeds does nothing but promote the spirit of intolerance among the churches and stir up fruitless theological controversy. He spoke often and emphatically in favor of a tolerant national religion. The following paragraphs taken from his address, "Americanism," delivered before the Knights of Columbus at Carnegie Hall, New York, October 12, 1915, definitely define his ideas of tolerance:

"For thirty-five years I have been more or less actively engaged in public life, in the performance of my political duties, now in a pub-

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lic position, now in a private position. I have fought with all the fervor I possessed for the various causes in which with all my heart I believed; and in every fight I thus made I have had with me and against me Catholics, Protestants and Jews. There have been times when I have had to make the fight for or against some man of each creed on grounds of plain public morality, unconnected with questions of public policy. There were other times when I have made such a fight for or against a given man, not on grounds of public morality, for he may have been morally a good man, but on account of his attitude on questions of public policy, of government principle.

“In both cases, I have always found myself fighting beside, and fighting against, men of every creed. The one sure way to have secured the defeat of every good principle worth fighting for would have been to have permitted the fight to be changed into one along sectarian lines and inspired by the spirit of sectarian bitterness, either for the purpose of putting into public life or of keeping out

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of public life the believers in any given creed. Such conduct represents an assault upon Americanism.

“What is true of creed is true of nationality. There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism.”

Especially in matters of education must all citizens have fair and equal treatment, and be guaranteed their rights under the Constitution. In the public schools, exact justice must be meted out to Gentile, Jew, Protestant, Catholic, Italian, Greek, German, and American. Trustees, superintendents, teachers, and pupils should be treated without regard to their religious preference and should be allowed free exercise of religious privilege.

“We have a right to ask that our neighbor do his duty toward God and man; but we have no business to dictate to him how he shall worship his maker, and no business to discriminate for or against him because of the way in which he does it. In the same way, if a man

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is a decent citizen, he is a decent citizen, whether rich or poor."

Mr. Roosevelt considered the American Protective Association, a society organized to proscribe Catholics, "As utterly un-American, as alien to our school of political thought, as the worst immigrants who land on our shores. Their conduct is equally base and contemptible; they are the worst foes of our public-school system, because they strengthen the hands of its ultramontane enemies; they should receive the hearty condemnation of all Americans who are truly patriotic."

He would not have made a good religious zealot because he was too sensitive to the merits of both sides of the controversy. His breadth of view was well illustrated in his attitude toward the use of the Bible in the public schools. He was opposed to compulsory reading of the Scripture. He revered the Bible—no one more, but he heartily disapproved of a forced reading. In many school-rooms are teachers and pupils whose religion

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was directly opposed to the Protestant interpretation of the Bible. He favored a voluntary use, but he objected to the proposal to make Bible reading a law. The law proposed to use the Bible as a Protestant book, but in numerous instances Catholics and Jews predominated. It would be as wrong to force the Bible on unwilling hearers as to force a sectarian school on an unwilling public.

He was rather proud of the fact that in his voyage down the River of Doubt in Brazil, while his comrades included a Catholic, an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Baptist, and a Lutheran, with he himself a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, there was the utmost harmony in the party, and entire willingness on the part of each to share the burden of the day.

He would not permit the desire of a party, class, or sect to take precedence over the desires of the whole American people. This point of view secured for him the support of men of all shades of opinion. He intended to

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be square. The people knew it and supported him with acclamation.

As he was traveling through Italy on his way home from Africa in 1910, he was invited by the pope to an audience at the Vatican. A condition was imposed, however; he was not to visit the Methodists who were then established at Rome. Mr. Roosevelt replied that he wished to see the Pope but that he must also feel at liberty to visit other religious bodies. The result was that he did not go to the Vatican, to the universal disappointment of the Catholics in America, and the rejoicing of the Protestants. It must be entirely evident to those who have followed the argument of this chapter that Mr. Roosevelt cared as much for the Catholics as for the Methodists—no more and no less. He had no particular desire to visit the Methodists at Rome, one representative of whom had appealed to him as a bigoted notoriety seeker, but he was not willing that his freedom to visit them, as a fellow American citizen, should be curtailed. In order to place himself right in the matter, he

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published his reasons in the *Outlook*. After claiming equal friendship with Catholics and Protestants, he proceeded to lay particular emphasis on a minimum of creedal difference and a maximum of social coöperation.

“The important consideration is the avoidance of harsh and bitter comment such as may excite mistrust and anger between and among good men. The more an American sees other countries, the more profound must be his feelings of gratitude that in his own land there is not merely complete toleration but the heartiest good will and sympathy between sincere and honest men of different faith—good will and sympathy so complete that in the inevitable daily relation of our American life Catholics and Protestants meet together and work together without the thought of difference of creed being even present in their minds. This is a condition so vital to our National well-being that nothing should be permitted to jeopard it.”

While traveling in Brazil, his observant

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mind at once recognized the value of Protestant as well as Catholic religions for the towns. He was impressed by what he saw that religious liberty is absolutely necessary. Narrow-minded intolerance is an impediment anywhere, but it is particularly noxious in matters pertaining to religious ideals. Let the dogmas and theological arguments go in favor of conduct. But conduct, to reach the highest levels, must rest on spiritual elements. Most good men understand the need in the community of a true religion, and that no neighborhood can make much progress in the right direction without ministers and school-teachers.

He observed during his journey through Africa that Protestant and Catholic were working together in charity for the common cause; and found on the mission fields, which he took particular pains to visit and inspect, a universal desire to coöperate in building up the social life of the natives. He heartily endorsed the endeavor, for all his life he had been working for a similar consummation. As he wrote while in Africa: "There is cer-

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tainly enough evil in the world to offer a target at which all good men can direct their shafts, without expending them on one another."

On May 26, 1903, he delivered an address in Spokane, Washington, on "Liberty Through Law." It was a thoroughgoing Rooseveltian address, containing the ethical appeal, the high sentiment, honesty, and conviction. The paragraph with which he concluded so well describes his human, tolerant Christianity that we reproduce it here.

"I ask that we see to it in our country that the line of division in the deeper matters of our citizenship be drawn, never between section and section, never between creed and creed, never, thrice never, between class and class; but that the line be drawn on the line of conduct, cutting through sections, cutting through creeds, cutting through classes; the line that divides the honest from the dishonest, the line that divides good citizenship from bad citizenship, the line that declares a man a good citizen if, and always if, he acts in accordance

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with the immutable law of righteousness, which has been the same from the beginning of history to the present moment, and which will be the same from now until the end of recorded time.”

*In short in life as in a football game,
the principle to follow is:*

*Hit the line hard; don't foul and don't
shirk, but hit the line hard.*

—THE AMERICAN BOY.

CHAPTER XVI

HIS EVERDAY CREED

It should be clear that in the conduct of his life Roosevelt gave an altogether new interpretation to religion as action and achievement rather than meditation and profession.

His faith was the crusading kind. Like all crusaders he not only received wounds but inflicted them. Without doubt, in his later years he came to feel that it was a duty from which he could not escape to recall the American people to what he believed to be abandoned ideals, first, in the case of the downfall of the system of honest politics which he had himself instituted at cost of prodigious energy, and second, the failure of the Federal Administration to avenge the invasion of Belgium and the *Lusitania* outrage.

He was as much a man of destiny as any

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great leader of the people ever was. Washington had his crisis; so did Lincoln; so did Theodore Roosevelt, for at the time he entered public life, principle and honest enforcement of law had been about squeezed out of municipal, state, and national government in favor of special privilege. He came to the truly gigantic task of recalling the nation to its duty, well-equipped. He had unconquerable will, a supply of hardheaded common sense, superb strength of body, enthusiasm that no defeat or opposition could quell, honesty of purpose and devotion to ideals far above the ordinary, loyalty to American institutions, and the courage to attack iniquity whatever its disguise, and not to falter until right had triumphed.

Who will dispute that destiny had a hand in his appointment; or that from the day of his birth to the day of his death he was directed by an invisible influence? Opportunity in nearly every instance came to him unexpectedly. On graduating from college, he thought of studying law, or specializing in natural history, not of a political career that would begin

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with a term in the New York legislature. When his wife and mother died he went to the Bad Lands of North Dakota fully expecting to become a ranchman and grow up with the country. He was summoned to serve as Civil Service Commissioner, and as Police Commissioner of New York City, positions that carried no political influence. Both offices conducted as radically as Roosevelt conducted them would have spelled ruin for men of ordinary capacity. He was appointed a subordinate in the Navy Department, but presently became the most active agency; but no sooner was the country talking about him and predicting his promotion that he resigned to enter the army, again as a subordinate. Appointment as Governor of New York came unsought. He was made Vice President by enemies who hoped to silence him. He became President, as Charles G. Washburn expresses it, "by the act of God." Surely destiny played an important part in his career.

In connection with this curious control, his

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sister, Mrs. Robinson, offers a convincing argument:

“As was the case in almost every crisis which arose, either national or international, during my brother’s life, he seemed to have a prescience of the future, and, therefore he almost invariably—sometimes before other public men were awake to the contingency—sensed the need of taking steps to avert or meet difficulties which he felt sure would soon have to be faced.”

Of course Roosevelt sensed this controlling influence. He had high ambitions. He wished to hold a responsible position. He was gratified to be the choice of the people for President. But back of ambition, back of the satisfaction provided by public approval, was the controlling desire to create a righteous state. This determination strengthened with the years. His life was given to the long fight for righteousness. Person after person who was closely associated with him, seeing how his

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life was dedicated to the making of a better nation, marveled at the power of the ethical motive. Roosevelt himself continually wrote and spoke of this *daemon* or genius that determined his decisions, but always with expression far removed from cant phrases. He detested no one more than the self-righteous man who was forever proclaiming his virtues from the housetops.

He looked into the future with sure vision, predicting trouble with Germany fifteen years before it came, and foreseeing for America a place of leadership among the nations. The years stretched away before him rich with promise for those who live wise, brave, and upright lives.

“On the whole we think that the greatest victories are yet to be won, the greatest deeds yet to be done, and that there are yet in store for our peoples and for the causes that we uphold grander triumphs than have ever yet been scored. But be this as it may, we gladly agree that the one plain duty of every man is to face

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the future as he faces the present, regardless of what it may have in store for him, and, turning toward the light as he sees the light, to play his part manfully, as a man among men."

Theodore Roosevelt has left but one recorded statement of a creed. During the campaign of 1916, an attack of dry pleurisy prevented his attendance at church on a certain Sunday. John J. Leary, one of the oldest members of the "newspaper cabinet," called to see him, and found him in a religious frame of mind.

"The boys thought it funny you didn't go to church," he said.

"Oh, so far as churches are concerned," [the Colonel replied], "I've had Dr. Talmage up to look me over, so I've had benefit of clergy. And now that we are speaking of churches, do you recall a verse in Micah that I am very fond of? 'To do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God,'—

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that to me is the essence of religion; to be just with all men; to be merciful to those to whom mercy should be shown; to realize that there are some things that must remain a mystery to us. And when the time comes for us to enter the great darkness, to go smiling and unafraid.

“That is my religion; my faith. To me it sums up all religion. It is the creed I need. It seems simple and easy, but there is more in that verse than in the involved rituals and confessions of many faiths and many creeds we know.

“To love justice, to be merciful, to appreciate that the great mysteries shall not be known to us, and so living as to face the great beyond without fear—that is life.

“That’s too simple a creed for many of us, though. Perhaps it is as well that through more involved paths and mazes of theology the majority should seek the same result.

“I quarrel with no man because of his religion. The Roman Catholic, the Protestant, the Jew, the Mohammedan, the follower of Confucius, all are right so far as they seek to

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follow what their leaders have taught. You have done much prison work. You know the Roman Catholic is in prison not because of his faith but because he broke away from it; the Jew is there because he and the synagogue are no longer friends; the Protestant, because his religion has ceased to be a living thing, and his soul has atrophied.

"I am always sorry for the faithless man, just as I am sorry for the woman without virtue.

"I have found though, that however they may appear outwardly, most men at bottom are religious, just as the preponderating majority of men are honest and of women virtuous; otherwise our religion would end over night.

"Well, you are getting the sermon you missed by not going to church. And I have been talking religion. It's something I do very seldom. After all, one's religion is a private thing, and we are apt to be misunderstood."

Religion too often consists in formal pro-

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fession, membership in a church, attendance at the service of worship, and support of the minster. Churches everywhere are suffering from overmuch profession and too little expression. Theodore Roosevelt's religion began where that of many men leaves off. He was a conspicuous illustration of the text, "By their fruits ye shall know them." In him applied Christianity had a great exponent.

He said again and again that the final test of religious belief is conduct. He was the prophet and apostle of a Christianity that placed deeds above words. A favorite term of his was, "Applied idealism." It was not enough to have high thoughts, or to sit in the church and worship on Sundays. The Christian man who deserves the name will translate his thoughts and aspirations into action during the working days. He will not ask for a road that offers no resistance. It will be a matter of duty with him to apply himself to hard tasks, and not to flinch until the work is done. Roosevelt preached no soft and easy creed. His

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creed was for men who can do and dare; who willingly dedicate themselves to the difficult, the unpopular, the toilsome and wearying; and who are so aflame with ardor for the cause that, though life be forfeit, they will not abandon their post.

He announced as the heart and soul of his belief, the injunction, "Spend and be spent." He never forgot the lesson learned on the battlefields of Cuba, where the best and bravest were often the first to die. Theodore Roosevelt stood ready at any moment, and he proved the fact scores of times, to give his life on demand. This is the reason why he refused to abate the death penalty in the case of murderers. When gallant and upright men were constantly laying down their lives for a better state, why should an ephemeral and mawkish sentiment allow those to live who were doing their best to tear down the structure of law and order?

A man is but an instrument to be used until broken. He should ever hold himself prepared for the higher service.

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"In my judgment," [declared Dr. Lyman Abbott in his eulogy of Roosevelt], "no man in the history of America, not even Abraham Lincoln, did so much as Theodore Roosevelt to expedite the era of self-government, . . . that self-government which is the foundation of a true democracy because of a true brotherhood of man."

Roosevelt exemplified the law of service. From the day he took his seat in the legislature at Albany until the final call came, he was a public servant. He served a great city, a great State, a great nation. He served other nations, notably Russia and Japan in the instance of the Treaty of Portsmouth drawn up in the summer of 1905. He was especially a servant in his own house. No husband and father could have made home a happier place. Multitudes of persons call him blessed for acts of service done for them. But his giving never savored of charity. He acted on the principle that service brings its own reward.

He believed that Emerson was right when

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he defined the law of compensation; and surely no one ever had better cause to believe that aproval and criticism are evenly distributed. His life was all action—honest action. Enemies arose who poured on him vials of wrath in full measure. He met personal and organized opposition. He was bitterly maligned and roundly cursed. He was accused of being actuated by the basest motives, and of conniving in dastardly plots. On the other hand, he was as extravagantly praised. He was proclaimed greater than Washington or Lincoln; was widely lauded as the greatest and best personality in the world; and some went so far even as to declare that he was the greatest man who had ever lived. Roosevelt was too sensible and too well balanced to worry over the attacks of his enemies, or to feel undue elation over the tributes of his admirers. He preserved a marvelously clear brain and a sane estimate of his abilities, though extraordinarily tried. He knew that censure followed praise, and praise, censure, with rather monotonous regularity. He was prepared for these quick

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changes, and was not disturbed when they came.

"Any one can profess a creed," wrote William Roscoe Thayer. "Theodore Roosevelt lived his." And so he did; and because he did, many loved him. He was unsparing in invective, striking right and left, pursuing with relentless severity friends and enemies he believed were wrong; still the American people had a great affection for him. Said a Catholic priest, who once sat on the platform near Roosevelt at a public meeting: "The man had not spoken three minutes before I loved him, and had any one tried to molest him, I could have torn him to pieces."

He spoke and wrote freely his impressions of the end of this pilgrimage. However rapidly we travel, the grim pursuer will overtake us at last. What odds is it to us after the lights are extinguished forever, whether memory of our deeds holds through one, or many generations? Really the only important thing is to feel, when the bidding comes to step out into the great blackness, that those

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who remain behind, shall have certain good deeds of ours to treasure up.

Life to him was like a campaign under arms. The soldier who is in the forward lines must be prepared at any moment to fight and to give up his life at command. In the days of his greatest triumphs, he felt the truth of this. When his time came he wanted it to come in the heat of the battle, while he was doing something that needed to be done in the line of duty. He envied the soldiers who were killed in action, and, could he have chosen, would have asked for such an honor for himself, the honor that came to General Wolfe on that glorious morning on the Heights of Abraham, the wreath of victory awaiting him.

"We love life," he wrote, the day the United States entered the World War, "but there are things we love even more than life, and we feel that we are loyal to all that is highest in America's past when we act on the belief that those only are fit to live who are not afraid to die."

Not since news came of the assassination of

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Abraham Lincoln has the world mourned as it did that January day in 1919 when the report flashed from continent to continent that Theodore Roosevelt was dead.

"Put out the light, please," he had said to his attendant, James Amos. No one heard him speak after that. The lower lights have gone out for him, indeed. He has stepped out into the great blackness, as he once said a man should, "smiling and unafraid." Surely such as he now inhabit that city of which it is written:

"And there shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light; and they shall reign for ever and ever."

His long fight for righteousness is over. "Spend and be spent" was his everyday creed. It is for the living to take up the standard that has fallen from his grasp and carry it with honor in the battle.

He was a soldier. His was the martial

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spirit of the fighting men. Some day he knew the command must come for him to advance within the zone of fire, and that then he would fall. When that command was given he wished it to find him alert and ready, his equipment in order, and his courage high. Seldom does one come down to earth in whom a brighter, happier, more valiant spirit glowed than glowed in the soul of Theodore Roosevelt. He has left us, but the immortality of his influence remains.

In a small metal box, attached to a tree growing in a secluded place near Mattewamkeag Lake, Maine, there is a Bible with a request affixed asking that those who happen to pass that way, stop and read a few passages. Hermann Hagedorn, member of the faculty of the Roosevelt School for Boys, New Jersey, while visiting that neighborhood, learned that Roosevelt used to hunt in the Mattawamkeag Lake region and frequently sought the shade of this particular tree and read the Bible. A beautiful memorial has been erected over his grave in Oyster Bay. As time passes, other

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loving tributes to his memory will be constructed by his fellow Americans, but no one of them will mean more than that Bible in the solitudes of Maine, because it expresses the greatest characteristic of his life, devotion to the moral and spiritual progress of the race.

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VALIANT FOR TRUTH

The least understood, and the most courageous act of Mr. Roosevelt's public life was his formation and leadership of the Progressive Party in 1912. All his life he had striven for justice for the whole American people. Party was not the end, it was a means to the end. When that means proved weak, vicious, and self-centered, he repudiated it.

There was a powerful and well-organized element in the Republican party which was determined that Roosevelt should not be nominated at the 1912 convention. He was the undoubted choice of Republican voters, but he was not the choice of the machine men who dominated the assembly. Steam-roller methods were employed and Taft was nominated. Roosevelt had not been primarily concerned about the nomination of Taft, himself, or any other candidate, but with the foundation principles of upright government. As soon as he saw the convention adopting means that were brazen and shameless, and in direct violation of the people's rights, he left it.

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The Progressive party was organized, and Roosevelt was nominated for President. The Progressives began and continued their campaign, not as a political party that was out to beat its opponents at the polls, but as an army of crusaders marching and fighting for a holy cause. The Progressives were, in fact, contending for those higher principles of government that alone could guarantee the integrity of the American people. For these, Roosevelt had fought from the time when, at the age of twenty-three, he entered the New York legislature and would not allow a single dishonest measure to pass without a vigorous protest.

At the Progressive convention that assembled at Chicago in August, 1912, martial hymns were sung, and the convention closed with the delegates singing with religious fervor, "Praise God from Whom all Blessings Flow." The great words were brotherhood, righteousness, and the welfare of mankind. The movement was essentially a spiritual one, and the leader of it dedicated himself to its service with the spirit of those great crusaders

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of the Middle Ages who, with the cross of Christ emblazoned on their shields, the prows of their ships, and their armor went forth with holy zeal to wrest the Sepulcher from the hand of the infidel.

He said, "We stand at Armageddon and we battle for the Lord." In truth he and those with him did stand there, as Joshua, Barak, Gideon, and Saul of old stood on that battle-swept field, made memorable by many a hard-fought fight. For a time, supported by persons who sensed the worth to the country of the Roosevelt idealism, he beat back the enemy, as Joshua and Gideon overcame the Midianites, the Canaanites, and the Philistines.

But traditional politics and sodden materialism proved too strongly entrenched to be dislodged. It was not a case of Roosevelt wanting the office so much as he wanted honest government to prevail. He believed he would be unmindful of his duty if he sat quietly by and did nothing to prevent a return to the corrupt and reactionary policies that had endangered the nation in the period following the Civil

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War. Many did not understand his motive. Many still fail to understand it.

Roosevelt was first of all an idealist—a practical idealist. He dreamed dreams. He saw visions. But he kept his feet firmly placed on the ground, so he was able always to apply his ideals. Some are politicians, and politicians only; some are nature-lovers and nature-lovers only; Roosevelt was both. He was as astute a politician as ever won a battle; he was also a student of the wonders of creation, and this interest gave him a spiritual power that the materialists could not fathom. He loved the silent spaces of far-stretching plains, blazing autumn forests, towering mountain ranges, and systems of stars. He loved the roaring waterfalls and the thunder of the tempest. He was a man of such abounding energy and action that many miss the profoundness of his spiritual perceptions. Let such read his introduction to his book, *African Game Trails*. A finer piece of idealistic writing has not been penned in the English language.

Whatever chastening reverse or sorrow

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came to him, it could not subdue the valiant spirit. He learned, July 17, 1918, that his son Quentin had been killed while flying over the German lines. On the same day, he was to deliver an address at Saratoga, New York, before a political gathering. He considered the address a duty and would not defer it. At its close, he spoke directly to the audience, appealing for lofty idealism in the strife in which they were engaged. Unawares he pictured his own high-thinking self:

“I am speaking of the idealism that will permit no man in public or private to say anything lofty as a cloak for base action. I am asking for the idealism that will demand that every promise expressed or implied be kept, that every profession of decency, of devotion that is lofty in words, should be made good by deeds. I am asking for an idealism which shall find expression beside the hearthstone and in the family, and in the councils of the state and nation.”

He had kept constantly before himself the

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great ideal of justice to every man. With the fervor of the crusaders of old, he had fought for it to the end. Massed against him were the serried ranks of the materialists who saw in his ideals empty dreams and impossible hopes. But his sword was keen and his arm was strong and he cut his way through.

Pilgrim's Progress was one of his favorite books; and the character in it he thought most about was Mr. Great Heart, the valiant soul who supported stumbling Christian. Valiant-for-Truth, another of Christian's friends was also a character he admired. There is so striking a similarity between these two and Theodore Roosevelt that it will not be amiss to mention an incident from their journey.

GREAT HEART.—And what did they say else?

VALIANT-FOR-TRUTH.—Why, they told me that it was a dangerous way; yea, the most dangerous way in the world, said they, is that which the Pilgrims go. . . .

GREAT HEART.—And did none of these things discourage you?

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VALIANT.—No; they seemed but as many nothings to me.

GREAT HEART.—How came that about?

VALIANT.—Why, I still believed what Mr. Tell-true had said, and that carried me beyond them all.

GREAT-HEART.—Then this was your victory, even your faith.

VALIANT.—It was so. I believed, and therefore came out, got into the way, fought all that set themselves against me, and, by believing, am come to this place. . . .

After this it was noised abroad that Mr. Valiant-for-Truth was taken with a summons by the same post as the other; and had this for a token that the summons was true: "That his pitcher was broken at the fountain." When he understood it, he called to his friends, and told them of it. Then said he, "I am going to my father's; and though with great difficulty I am got thither, yet now I do not repent me of all the trouble I had been at to arrive where I am. My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and

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skill to him that can get it. My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me that I have fought His battles who now will be my rewarder." When the day that he must go hence was come, many accompanied him to the riverside So he passed over, and all the trumpets scounded for him on the other side.

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